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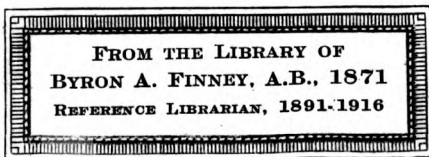
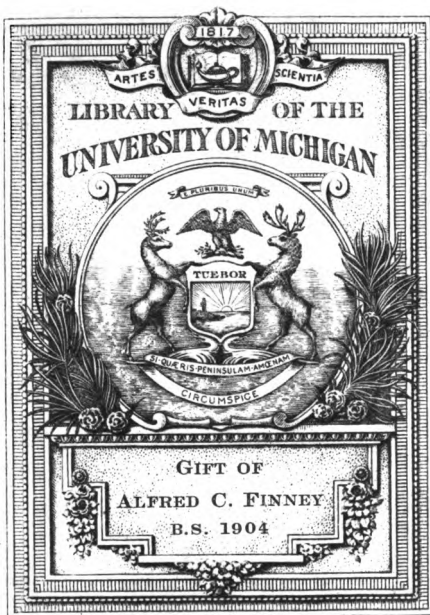
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XENOPHON



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X E N O P H O N.

THE ANABASIS.

TRANSLATED BY

EDWARD SPELMAN, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NEW YORK:

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1867.

"SPELMAN'S ANABASIS is one of the most accurate and elegant translations that any language has produced."—GIBBON.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

## XENOPHON.

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XENOPHON was the son of Gryllus, an Athenian : he was born at Athens, and distinguished himself as a philosopher, a general, and an historian. Much uncertainty, however, exists concerning his origin and earliest years ; yet from his connexions and resources he must have been well born and well educated. He was exquisitely formed, and so engaging in his manners that Socrates was induced to admit him among his disciples. It is said that Socrates, meeting him in a narrow gateway, extended his walking-stick across it, so as to obstruct his passage, inquiring how a man could acquire the means of profit ? and on receiving a suitable reply he inquired, further, how men could attain to virtue and honour ? Xenophon being at a loss for an answer, the philosopher added, " Follow me and learn." From this time he entered under his tuition, and became eminently qualified for all the offices of public as well as private life. Having accompanied Socrates in the Peloponnesian war, and manifested his valour, he was invited by Proxenus his friend to join Cyrus, who was engaged in an expedition against his brother Artaxerxes,

King of Persia; but he refused to comply till he could confer with Socrates, who advised him to consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. This he did, but merely put the question, under what auspices and with what sacrifices he should prepare for the expedition: to which a favourable answer having been returned, he informed Socrates of the result, who, after mildly reproving him for his departure from the advice he had solicited, bid him set out under the direction of the god. Xenophon paid due deference to these injunctions; but being ambitious, and eager to engage in a distant expedition, he hastened to Sardis, where he was introduced to Cyrus the young prince, and treated with great attention. In the army he showed that he was a true disciple of Socrates, and that he had been educated in the warlike city of Athens.

The particulars of the march of Cyrus are indeed so minutely described in the "ANABASIS," with reference to the topography and natural history of the various districts through which he travelled, that it has been thought he was advised, in his last interview with Socrates, to write the account.

The time for action now approaching, Cyrus took care to animate his Grecian troops by renewed and splendid promises, and to warn them of the immense superiority of numbers with which they would have to contend, encouraging them at the same time with assurances that they would find the Persian soldiers less than women.

Cyrus assigned the Greeks a position on the right of his army, flanked by the Euphrates, and directed Clearchus to command their right wing, and Menon the left. And here for the first time Xenophon

makes mention of himself. Cyrus rode along at a moderate distance surveying both armies, looking now at the enemy, now at his friends. Xenophon, seeing him from the Grecian line, rode out to meet him, and inquired if he had any commands for him. Stopping his horse, Cyrus desired him to tell them all that the sacrifices and victims were favourable. While he was saying this, he heard a clamour through the ranks, and asked what it was. Xenophon told him that they were exchanging a fresh watchword. He wondered who could have given it out, and asked what it might be. Xenophon replied, that it was "Jupiter the Preserver, and Victory." Cyrus, having heard it, said, "I agree to it; let it be so:" and having said this, rode off to his station.

The minuteness with which a circumstance in itself so little important is related is highly characteristic of a young man ambitious of notice and gratified by the honour conferred on him. At the same time it seems to imply that Xenophon had hitherto taken no part in the conduct of the army, and had not been invited to the councils of the prince; for had he been accustomed to converse familiarly with Cyrus, he would scarcely have recorded the present interview.

The battle of Cunaxa, which followed immediately after the anecdote which has just been related, in which Cyrus was slain and his army completely defeated by Artaxerxes, belongs to the history of Persia rather than to the life of Xenophon. The native troops in the army of Cyrus were totally routed; but in that part of the field in which the Greeks fought, the forces of Artaxerxes were put to flight in every direction, and almost without res:



ance. These last were pursued until the Grecians, wearied with slaughter and fatigue, returned to their camp.

In the meantime, Clearchus was too good a general to neglect provisions for the immediate wants of his army. After dinner, when they were, according to the manner of the Greeks, assembled together to spend the heat of the day in conversation, some heralds arrived from the king and from Tissaphernes, demanding, in the name of the king, that they should ground their arms and surrender at discretion. Clearchus replied; and, among the rest, Xenophon thus addressed the messenger:

“With us, Phalesius, as you may perceive, nothing is of value but our arms and our honour. As long as we preserve our arms, we can rely on our own valour; but in parting with them, we should be conscious of betraying ourselves. Think not, therefore, that we will resign our only remaining property, but rather we will use them in fighting for yours.” Phalesius laughed heartily at this set speech, and replied, “You appear to be a scholar, young man, and what you say is pleasant enough, but I would not have your inexperience so much deceive you, as to set your boasted valour against the power of the king.”\*

After the battle of Cunaxa, and the fall of young Cyrus, the prudence and vigour of his mind were called into action. The ten thousand Greeks who had followed the standard of an ambitious

\* It is wonderful that in the teeth of this contemptuous speech, read by Xenophon himself, two distinguished critics and historians, Lman and Dodwell, should have contended that he was at this time it fifty years of age.

prince were now above six hundred leagues from their native home, in a country surrounded on every side by a victorious enemy, without money, or provisions, or a leader. All gave themselves up to despair. They felt that they were still two thousand miles from the nearest part of Greece, close to the vast armies of the king, and surrounded on all sides by tribes of hostile Barbarians, who would supply them with nothing but at the expense of blows and blood: they had no guide acquainted with the country, no knowledge of the deep and rapid rivers which intersected it, and no cavalry to explore the road, or cover their rear on the march. As if discipline and hope had ended together, the roll-call was scarcely attended to, the watchfires were scantily, or not at all, supplied, and even their principal meal was neglected; where chance led, they threw themselves down to rest, but not to sleep—for sleep was banished by thoughts of that country and those friends whom they now no longer expected and scarcely dared hope to behold again.

But the army had among them a man, little known indeed, but of far greater talents and bolder energies than any general under whom they had served; and probably the only man who could have extricated them from their present situation of unparalleled danger. Xenophon had hitherto held no rank; had been attached to no division of the army; and had appeared only as the friend of Proxenus. He, like the rest, lay awake, suffering from grief and alarm; but his mind was not of a temperament to suffer without a remedy, and he represents himself as having been encouraged by

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a dream during a momentary doze, which he has so related and interpreted as to leave it doubtful whether his remarkable attention to omens and sacrifices was the result of sound policy or of sincere belief. Rousing himself from slumber, he began to reflect on the folly and rashness in which all participated. The night was far spent; the enemy would probably be on them with the dawn; submission could only conduct through suffering to an ignominious death. No one provided for the emergency; despair produced the effect of security; and from what people among them, thought he, can I expect a general fit for this business? or why should I hesitate to act on account of my youth? If I thus give myself up without an effort to the enemy, I shall never reach a more mature age.

Full of these thoughts he rose, and calling together the officers belonging to the division of Proxenus, he set before them, in an animated speech, the certain ruin and destruction which must ensue from their submission; the grounds on which he trusted for success from strenuous exertion and prudent counsel; and concluded with assuring them that he was at their service in any capacity; and that if they thought fit to invest him with the command, his youth should only pledge him to more vigorous exertion. On this, the officers unanimously declared their readiness to serve under him, with the exception of one Apollonides, who, speaking in the Bœotian dialect, recommended that they should seek safety by submitting to the orders of the king. To this proposal Xenophon replied with well-timed warmth, declaring that sentiments so base ought to be punished by degradation to servile

duties ; an expression which led to the discovery that the officer in question had actually been a Lydian slave, and retained the marks of slavery on his person. He was accordingly cashiered, and the example proved of the greatest advantage ; for it infused a new spirit into the rest, who, on the suggestion of Xenophon, immediately proceeded to summon a general council of all the surviving generals and officers, to the number of nearly a hundred. / By this time it was midnight, and the ~~Bœotian~~ officers, to save time, requested that Xenophon would open the business by repeating what he had stated to them.

He accordingly made another judicious and encouraging speech, in which he strongly reprobated the idea of placing the smallest dependence on any thing but their own prudence, courage, and unanimity ; and recommended, as the first step towards providing for the expected attack, that they should instantly proceed to supply by election the places of the commanders whom they had lost.

As soon as it was day, the new commanders, placing pickets in advance, again assembled the army, and exhorted them to take courage, to maintain discipline, and to rely on the favour of the gods, who would not fail to avenge themselves on the perfidious Persians. Xenophon, in particular, having armed himself with a splendour becoming his present rank, endeavoured to raise hope and inspire sentiments of honour ; and fortunately the favourable omen of sternutation occurred in the midst of his speech ; on which the soldiers, all with one accord, worshipped Jupiter the Preserver, from whom the omen was reputed to proceed ; and Xeno-

phon, breaking off his harangue, proposed a sacrifice to the god, desiring those who approved of the motion to hold up their hands. The show of hands being unanimous, the sacrifice was formally vowed, and a hymn sung; after which he resumed his discourse, and at great length set before the army, now full of hope and cheerfulness, the system which they must adopt to ensure a safe and honourable return to their native country, and especially enforcing the necessity of a strict adherence to discipline, always the great deficiency of Grecian troops, and of all troops, in a retreat, when it becomes doubly necessary. His proposals were unanimously carried, as before, by a show of hands. Thus, without assuming any superior authority, he in fact acted as commander-in-chief, and was cheerfully obeyed; the whole army feeling that they were indebted to his genius for their present safety, and depending on him for their future hopes. /

On one occasion Xenophon, during the retreat, encouraged the almost broken spirits of the army by relating a dream, the interpretation of which was evidently that he should extricate them from their perilous situation; and soon afterward he announced information which he had received of a shallower passage lower down, with a landing-place, where the Persian horse would be unable to act against them. The usual sacrifices and libations to the gods having been performed, the whole army sung the pæan, and prepared to cross the river. The Persians, astonished probably at their apparently undiminished numbers and resolution, offered no effectual resistance; and the mountaineers, being held in check by the judicious dispositions of Xeno

phon, made little impression on the rear. So complete indeed was the success, that the first division of the Greeks actually captured some booty from the Persian troops.

7 In their subsequent march they suffered so dreadfully from snow and frost, that the men fell down benumbed with cold, and the cattle perished. The sufferings of the army became extreme, and it required all the art and authority of Xenophon and the other generals to preserve the men from yielding to the severity of the climate and fatigue. He Superintended the retreat of his countrymen successfully; and though often opposed by malevolence and envy, yet his eloquence and his activity convinced the Greeks that no general could extricate them from every difficulty better than the disciple of Socrates. He rose superior to danger, and though under continual alarms from the sudden attacks of the Persians, he was enabled to cross rapid rivers, penetrate through vast deserts, gain the tops of mountains, till he could rest secure for a while, and refresh his tired companions. This celebrated retreat was at last happily effected, and the Greeks returned home after a march of one thousand one hundred and fifty-five parasangs, or leagues, which was performed in two hundred and fifteen days, after an absence of fifteen months.\*

\* The army of Cyrus marched from Sardis, through Lydia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia, crossed the mountains of Cilicia, passed through Cilicia and Syria to the Euphrates, forded this river, passed through a part of Arabia and Babylonia, until they reached the plain of Cunaxa. In retreating, the object of the Greeks was to strike the Euxine; but the error they committed was in making that sea extend too far to the east. From Cunaxa they turned their course to the Tigris, crossed that river, marched through Media northwards, still following the course of the Tigris. They then crossed the mountains of the Carduchi, and, after great exertions, reached the sources of the river just mentioned. After this they traversed Armenia, crossed the Euphrates

The whole, perhaps, might now be forgotten, or at least but obscurely known, if the great philosopher who planned it had not employed his pen in describing the dangers which he escaped, and the difficulties which he surmounted; the particulars of which memorable adventure are so well related by himself in his "Retreat of the Ten Thousand." He was no sooner returned from Cunaxa than he sought new honours in following the fortune of Agesilaus in Asia. He enjoyed his confidence; he fought under his standard, and conquered with him in the Asiatic provinces, as well as at the battle of Coronæa. His fame, however, did not escape the aspersions of jealousy: he was publicly banished from Athens for accompanying Cyrus against his brother; and being now without a home, he retired to Scillus, a small town of the Lacedæmonians, in the neighbourhood of Olympia.

He was accompanied in his retreat by his wife, and by his twin sons Gryllus and Diodorus; but whether this lady was the mother of the young men is not recorded.

It is probable that in the course of his Asiatic campaigns Xenophon, though by nature expensive and generous, had amassed considerable wealth; and it will be recollected that he was one of the generals who were intrusted with the tenth dedicated to Apollo and the Ephesian Diana, on the division of the spoil among the Cyreian Greeks at Cerasus; a trust not only honourable, but the source

not far from its source, lost many of their number in the marshes through the cold and snow, and at last reached the Phasis. Leaving this stream, they passed through the countries of the Trochi, Chalybes, Macrones, Melchians, and at last reached the Greek colony of Trapezus on the coast the Euxine Sea. As there were not ships enough there to receive them all, they determined to return home by land, and marching along the coast of the Euxine, came at last to Chalcedon.—See the map.

also of an ample revenue. Xenophon remitted the portion designed for Apollo to the temple at Delphi; and on leaving Asia to return with Agesilaus into Greece, he deposited the other portion with Megabyzus, the treasurer of the Ephesian temple, desiring, that if he should fall in the approaching contest with the Thebans, Megabyzus himself should perform the solemn act of dedication in such manner as should be most pleasing to the goddess; but that if he should survive, the money should be returned to him; for in the insecurity of all property in Greece, the safest depository for money and the precious metals was the treasury of a temple, where superstition generally effected what better principles failed to do elsewhere; and hence the Grecian temples, especially that at Delphi, were generally used both as public and private banks.

When Xenophon was securely settled at Scillus, Megabyzus took the opportunity afforded by the Olympian games to restore the deposite to him, with which he purchased an estate for the goddess, and built on it a temple and an altar; reserving a tenth of the produce of the sacred land as the rent due to her as proprietor, and leaving the residue to be enjoyed by the occupier of the soil, on condition of discharging his duties as manager of the festivals and guardian of the temple; thus securing to himself and to his family a splendid demesne and handsome income, under the protection of reputed sanctity.

The situation of the estate was dictated by the oracle of Apollo, at the suggestion doubtless of Xenophon himself, and appears to have been studiously selected with a view to make it a counterpart of the sacred territory of Ephesus.



The yearly festival was celebrated with an entertainment to all the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood.

In this delightful retreat, under the protection of the temporal sovereignty of Lacedæmon, and the spiritual tutelage of Diana, Xenophon forgot the toils of war, in a state of as much enjoyment as can fall to the lot of a man whose happiness must depend on sublunary circumstances. He seems to have been precisely what we should now call a literary country gentleman, diversifying the more refined pleasures of his studious hours with the active amusements of the field; breaking his dogs, training his horses, and attending to the breed of stock; and so much interest did the philosopher, historian, and commander take in these healthful pursuits, that they became the subject of more than one treatise from his immortal pen; an example to scholars in all ages that they should not disdain to refresh their vigour and renew their animation by allowing the unharnessed faculties to recreate themselves freely in country sports, and exercise themselves agreeably in country business.

From the period of his settlement at Scillus till after the destruction of the Lacedæmonian sovereignty, by the event of the battle at Leuctra, Xenophon appears to have enjoyed uninterrupted quiet, and to have employed himself in composing those works which exalted him to be the rival of Plato in politics and biography, as well as of Thucydides in history. It is said that the emulation between the two disciples of Socrates occasioned a pitiable jealousy and alienation from each other; but Diogenes relates, to the praise of Xenophon, that he gave to the world the history of Thucydides

in the name of the author, when he might easily have made it his own. The list of his other works, given us by the same biographer, proves that we have been singularly fortunate in their preservation.

From this literary and rural enjoyment of peace and security, he was not to be tempted by the reversal of the decree against him, which passed on the change of Athenian politics some time after the battle of Leuctra. Athens was of all places the most dangerous for men in any way eminent, but especially for those who possessed property and talents; and in the continual changes of system which characterize the republics of Greece, the fickleness of the despotic mob, who had banished and recalled him, might at any moment confiscate his property and take away his life. When, therefore, the protection of Lacedæmon could no longer avail him, and the dissensions which agitated the surrounding states rendered even the sacred territory insecure, he sent his family to Lepreum, and is related to have gone in person to Elis, to plead with the Eleians (now once more masters of Scillus) for immunity, on account of having accepted the fief from a hostile power. It appears that the prayer was readily granted, and that he returned in peace to the possession of his property; but whether the commotions of the times rendered a country residence less desirable, or the decline of life brought with it a disinclination for bodily exertion, he appears, in his latter years, to have lived principally at Corinth, in which place he died about the second year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, 359 years B. C.

The simplicity and the elegance of Xenophon's

diction have procured him the name of Athenian Muse, and the Bee of Greece; and they have induced Quintilian to say that the graces dictated his language, and that the goddess of persuasion dwelt on his lips. His sentiments as to the Divinity and religion were the same as those of the venerable Socrates. He supported the immortality of the soul, and exhorted his friends to cultivate those virtues which ensure the happiness of mankind, with all the zeal and fervour of a Christian. He has been quoted as an instance of tenderness, and of resignation to Providence. As he was offering a sacrifice he was informed that Gryllus, his eldest son, had been killed at the battle of Mantinea. On this he tore the garland from his head; but when he was told that his son had died like a Greek, and given a mortal wound to the enemy's general, he replaced the flowers on his head, and continued the sacrifice, exclaiming, that the pleasure he derived from the valour of his son was greater than the grief which his unfortunate death occasioned.

His character is best painted in his life and writings. He was brave, generous, and affectionate. punctual and vigilant on duty; sagacious and enterprising in command; prudent and eloquent in council; a sincere friend; a magnanimous adversary; a liberal and enlightened statesman. As an author he is above criticism; and the beauty of his style adorns every subject of which he has treated. As an historian he has been thought deficient in dates; but his candour and fairness are generally acknowledged; and his political wisdom and military science have assisted to form some of the ablest politicians and generals of succeeding times.

**THE ANABASIS;**  
**OR,**  
**EXPEDITION OF CYRUS INTO PERSIA,**  
**AND THE**  
**RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND**



# ARGUMENT.

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## BOOK I.

**CHAP. I.** Cyrus the Younger, having been calumniated to his brother Artaxerxes, and nearly subjected to the punishment of treason, returns to the government of which he was satrap, and secretly preparing to make war against his sovereign, assembles an army, principally of Greek troops, which his friends collect for him, as though a very different expedition were intended.

**II.** Cyrus, having marched forth from Sardis, traverses various countries; Lydia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, &c.—Tissaphernes in the mean time repairs to the king, and informs him of the designs of Cyrus—Epyaxa, the wife of the King of Cilicia, comes to Cyrus—At her request the army is reviewed—The seeming attack of the Greeks strikes great terror into the queen and into all the Barbarians present at the review—Being arrived at Tarsus, Cyrus summons to his presence the Cilician king, Syennesis, who, yielding at length to the entreaties of Epyaxa, trusts himself within the power of Cyrus, and assists him with sums of money.

**III.** The sedition of the Greeks compels Cyrus to remain twenty days at Tarsus; for, suspecting that the expedition was against the king, they nearly stoned to death Clearchus, who was for urging them to proceed—With great cunning and prudence Clearchus quells their turbulence—A deputation is sent to question Cyrus on the design of the expedition; and having received for answer that he was leading them against a certain Abrocomas, and that he now engaged to give them higher pay, the Greeks determine to march onward with him.

**IV.** With their arrival at Issi, the last town of Cilicia, arrives also the fleet of Cyrus—Having passed the gates which command the entrance from Cilicia into Syria, the army advances into the latter country. Two associates, Xenias and Pasio, desert. Cyrus speaks civilly of them; and the rest of the Greeks, moved by his humanity and kindness, proceed on their march with more alacrity—Having advanced to Thapsacus, a town situated on the river Euphrates, Cyrus at length discloses to the Greeks that his expedition is designed against the king—Indignant at the deception, yet excited by fresh promises, they ford the river, and Menon displays his crafty character, by gaining to himself, without risk, the entire credit of setting them the example.

**V.** Cyrus advances along the bank of the Euphrates, encountering great difficulties and losses of his cattle for want of fodder, till he reaches the country over against Carmande, whence provisions are brought him across the river on rafts formed of the skins which the soldiers made use of for tents—A dangerous quarrel arises among the Greeks, who are on the point of coming to blows; but the serious exhortation Cyrus calms their animosity.

**VI.** Orontes, a noble Persian, who had twice before been reinstated

the favour of Cyrus, attempts a third time to desert to the king; but on the betrayal of his treachery he is seized, and being convicted on the judgment of Clearchus and others, is condemned to death and executed.

VII. Cyrus, having made some advance in the Babylonian territory, and suspecting that the king would appear the next day, musters his troops at midnight, and holds out magnificent promises to the Greeks. Marching on with his army in order of battle, he passes a trench dug by the king, and then thinking that the latter had abandoned all intention of fighting, he proceeds with more negligence.

VIII. At length, unexpectedly, Artaxerxes approaches with his army in excellent order—Cyrus and the Greeks are alarmed, and, that they may not be overwhelmed unprepared, quickly arm themselves and form their line—Having taken up their position on the right wing by the Euphrates, the Greeks, on the first onset, easily put to flight the Barbarians opposed to them—Cyrus, attended by a few faithful friends, fights too eagerly, and attacking the king in person, is himself slain.

IX. The character and encomium of Cyrus.

X. Artaxerxes, in his pursuit of Ariæus, takes possession of the camp of Cyrus, and plunders it—Thence, collecting his forces, he returns against the Greeks, who are victorious on their side—The Greeks again put his army to flight, and having recovered their lost baggage, retire to their camp.

## BOOK II.

CHAP. I. The Greeks are informed of the death of Cyrus, and of the design of Ariæus to return to Ionia. Clearchus endeavours to detain Ariæus, and promises him the empire of Persia—Artaxerxes orders the Greeks to deliver up their arms, and afterward, on condition of their remaining stationary, offers them a truce: if they depart, he threatens them with war—The Greeks dismiss the envoys with a bold answer.

II. Being sent for by Ariæus, who refuses the offer of the Persian crown, the Greeks repair to him, and having entered into a confederacy, take counsel concerning their return—Setting forth at daybreak, they arrive in the evening at some Babylonian villages, and judge by certain indications that the king's camp is in the neighbourhood—Clearchus prudently leads the army in such a manner as to appear neither to seek nor to fear a conflict—At sunset they come to villages which had been plundered by the king's troops; and passing the night in a state of uncertainty, are struck with fear, which a stratagem of Clearchus subdues.

III. The king, terrified at the sudden arrival of the Greeks, sends ambassadors to treat of peace—The Greeks ingenuously and boldly answer that they prefer war, unless they are supplied with food; and are therefore, at the king's command, in the interim of the negotiations, led to villages abounding in provisions—Three days afterward Tissaphernes is sent by the king to ask them why they had borne arms against him—Clearchus returns a true and sufficient answer, which Tissaphernes carries to the king, and in three days makes a treaty with the Greeks on these conditions: that the Persians shall faithfully lead back the Greeks to their own country, supplying them with provisions; and that the Greeks shall either buy their provisions, or procure them unpurchased without detriment to the territory.

IV While the Greeks are in expectation of Tissaphernes, who was gone

to the king on his own affairs, they form suspicions of the sincerity of Ariæus—On the arrival, therefore, of Tissaphernes with his troops to conduct their march, the Greeks, suspecting him also of insincerity, begin to march and encamp apart—Their route is described; from its outset at the wall of Media not far from Babylon—The cowardice and pretended snares of the Persians are noted, and the king's brother is terrified at the appearance of the multitude of the Greek forces.

- V. Having halted three days at the river Zabatus, the Greeks become confirmed in their suspicions against the good faith of the Persians; and Clearchus, in a conference with Tissaphernes, uses his utmost efforts to bring matters to a more amicable footing—Tissaphernes replies with great civility, so that Clearchus, moved by his discourse, returns to him with four other generals and twenty colonels, in order to be apprized of the persons who by calumnies endeavoured to excite animosity between the two nations—The Greek generals are made prisoners, and the colonels and others who had accompanied them are put to the sword—Ariæus then comes with his attendants to the Grecian camp, and in the name of the king demands a surrender of their arms—Cleanor, justly incensed, returns a contemptuous answer.
- VI. The character of each of the five generals is described; that of Clearchus more at length, as of a man not less skilful in war than devoted to its pursuits; of Proxenus, as a commander too gentle and mild; of Menon, as a perfidious, wicked man, who, for the sake of gain, would perpetrate and suffer the most shameful acts. The other two, Agias and Socrates, are of less note.

### BOOK III.

- CHAP. I. While the Greeks, mistrusting their affairs, are languishing in the bitterest grief, Xenophon begins to arouse the courage of the colonels who had been under Proxenus—A certain Apollonides makes a stupid opposition to the discourse of Xenophon, and is therefore expelled his rank and occupation—The rest of the surviving generals assemble, and are addressed by Xenophon in a vigorous speech, exhorting them to be of good cheer, and to encourage the minds of the soldiers, so that, after the appointment of new commanders, nothing may be neglected which shall conduce to repel the attacks of the enemy—Xenophon's recommendation is approved by all, and new commanders are immediately elected.
- II. The troops, being called together, are briefly exhorted by Chirisophus and Cleanor, in a longer and eloquent speech by Xenophon, to prepare themselves valiantly to fight; and he shows them, first, what their hopes may be of certain victory; then he refutes all doubt which may still possess their minds; lastly, he points out to them what they are first to do, and excites the leaders to diligence, the soldiers to modesty and obedience—His speech is applauded, and he proceeds to lay down his plan for the conduct of the army, by the appointment of commanders to the several corps.
- III. At the moment of their departure the Greeks are visited by Mithridates as a friend—He incurs their suspicions, and having been several times deceived by the Persians, they decree, that as long as they shall remain in the enemy's territory, they will enter into no negotiations for peace or truce with the Persian king—On their passage of the river Zabatus, they are so harassed by Mithridates, that Xenophon is made sensible of the great want the army had of slingers and horsemen—By his advice these two services are established.



- IV. On the following day Mithridates again pursues the Greeks, and is easily repulsed—They arrive at the river Tigris—Here Tissaphernes himself attacks them with an immense force; but to no effect—To march more securely, the Greeks adopt a change in the disposition of their army, as occasioned by the close pursuit of the enemy—In this way, after a four days' march, they arrive on the fifth at a part of the road obstructed by hills, in crossing over which they are grievously harassed by the enemy, until they take up their quarters in some villages—Setting out thence on the fourth day, they are compelled by the assaults of the enemy to throw themselves into another village, from which, marching forth at nightfall, after the enemy had retired to quarters, they perform so long a route in advance, that it is only on the fourth day the enemy overtakes them—Having occupied a hill, under which was the narrow descent into the plain, the Barbarians are thence dislodged by Xenophon.
- V. As soon as the Greeks have descended into the plain the Barbarians again make their appearance, and having killed some of the Greeks who were out on pillage, they begin to set fire to the villages—Enclosed between the Tigris and the Carduchian mountains, the Greeks consult on the plan of their march—They reject the plan of the Rhodian, who offers to pass them over on a bridge of leathern bottles, and marching some distance backwards the next day, they make diligent enquiry of the prisoners concerning the nature of the surrounding countries—They determine to take their route through the mountains of the Carduchi.

## BOOK IV.

- CHAP. I. The Greeks enter the territory of the Carduchi before day-break—On the first and second days they are harassed by enemies; on the third also by tempestuous weather; and arriving towards evening at a steep pass thoroughly beset by the Barbarians, they question two captives, acquainted with the country, whether there was any other road—One of them, affecting ignorance, they cut to pieces before the eyes of his companion, who, fearing the same fate, promises to lead them by a circuitous and more convenient path.
- II. Under his guidance two thousand chosen men are sent at nightfall to occupy the heights—These, at break of day, overpower the Barbarians, and put them to flight, and enable the rest of the Greeks with Chrisophus to ascend in safety—Xenophon follows with the baggage by the circuitous route; but has to fight his way with some slaughter—The next day the Greeks march over the mountains with great difficulty, and, closely pursued by the enemy, at length descend into the plain on the banks of the river Centrites.
- III. Here they halt in some villages, and looking round them after a sweet repose from a harassing march of seven days, find themselves beset with new difficulties—Three obstacles oppose their passage of the river; the force and depth of the current, the multitude of Barbarians posted on the opposite bank, and the weapons of the Carduchians in the rear—But by Xenophon's dream, the army, as it were, freed from impediments, crosses by a ford, and the skilful management of Xenophon crowns the stratagem with complete success.
- V. Entering the province of Armenia, and having passed the fountains of the river Tigris, they arrive at the Teleboas in Western Armenia—Here, at his request, they make a truce with Terebazus, the satrap but are, notwithstanding, pursued and waylaid by his numerous forces

- V. Leaving the villages, they are compelled to encamp in the open air, and suffer great hardships from the snow—For some days they are near perishing by the excessive cold, the depth of the snow, and the necessity of marching without food, to escape the pursuit of the enemy—At length they come to villages replete with provisions of all kinds, and they live sumptuously, and amuse themselves for seven days.
- VI. Setting out thence with a guide, they lose him on the third day by the fault of Chrisophus; and wandering without guidance, they arrive on the seventh day at the river Phasis—After two days' march they approach the mountains which are occupied by the Chalybes, Taochi, and Phasiani.
- VII. Advancing through the possessions of the Taochi, they storm a fort, and take a great number of cattle, on which alone they subsist during their march through the territory of the Chalybes, a fierce and valiant nation—Having passed the river Harpasus, they journey through the country of the Scythini, and on the fifth day procure a quantity of provisions—The fortune of the Greeks now assumes a more cheerful aspect—Leaving the country of the Scythini, they reach Gymnias, a large and plentiful town; and from the governor of that district, who was at war with the neighbouring people, through whom their road lay, they receive a voluntary offer of a guide, who, as he promised, brings them on the fifth day to the mountain Theches, whence, to their unspeakable joy they behold the sea—With exulting shouts they exclaim, "The sea! the sea!" and throwing together a huge heap of stones as a trophy, they crown it with offerings to the gods—The guide takes his leave, laden with valuable presents.
- VIII. Having made a treaty of amity with the Macrones, they traverse their territory in six days, and ascend the mountains of the Colchians, whom they find drawn up in battle array on the *plateau*—Routing them after a close engagement, they descend to well-stocked villages in the plain—Hence in two days they arrive at the seaside, and enter Trapezus, a Grecian city—For a whole month they pass their time in plundering the territory of the Colchians, paying their vows to the gods by solemn sacrifices, and celebrating festive games and entertainments.

## BOOK V.

- CHAP. I. The Greeks, having decided on the prosecution of their journey by sea, send Chrisophus to obtain ships—In the mean time Xenophon takes prudent measures for their other concerns, and provides both that they shall have sufficient ships for a sea voyage, and should their journey by land be continued, that they shall find the roads duly prepared for their march—Dexippus, a Lacedæmonian, is sent to bring in coasting vessels, but sails off with his galley—Polycrates, an Athenian, succeeds to the duty, and performs it faithfully.
- II. Led by the Trapezuntians to collect provisions, one-half of the forces marches out against the Driles, a most warlike nation, who had shut themselves up in a fortified town of great strength—The Greeks attack it, and, after great hazards and difficulties, they obtain success, and return the following day in safety to the camp.
- III. Unable any longer, through scarcity of provisions, to wait for the return of Chrisophus, they ship their invalids, and march themselves along the coast to Cerasus—Here they review the army—A division made of the money arising from the sale of the captives, and a *ter* part of it, which had been vowed to Apollo and Diana, is distributed

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the generals among themselves—Xenophon shows how at a future time he piously employed his share in the service of Diana, by building her a temple, &c.

- IV. Arrived on the confines of the Mosynœci, who, trusting to their strongholds, dare to prohibit their advance, the Greeks form a treaty of alliance with another nation of Mosynœci against their common enemy—These allies, with whom some of the Greeks, for the sake of plunder, had imprudently and without authority united themselves, are repulsed with great slaughter in their first attack. The next day, having encouraged the minds of his soldiers, Xenophon himself leads them on, with their Barbarian allies, in due order against the enemy, whom he vanquishes and disperses. Two forts are burnt with their garrisons and inhabitants, the capital city is plundered, and some other places are either taken by storm, or are admitted to surrender. The excessive barbarity of the Mosynœcian manners is described.
- V. Traversing the territory of the Chalybeans they arrive at the frontiers of the Tibareni, with whom they enter into a treaty, and in two days afterward reach the city of Cotyora. Here they tarry five-and-forty days, supplying themselves by plundering provisions, partly from the neighbouring Paphlagonia, partly from the territory of the Cotyorians themselves. To the ambassador of the Sinopians, rashly complaining of injuries done to the Cotyorians, and foolishly threatening the Greeks, Xenophon retorts a grave and bold answer, and recalls the deputation to a better understanding.
- VI. By the advice of Hecatonymus, the ambassador from Sinope, it is resolved to prosecute their journey by sea; but the Greeks adhere to this resolution in so far only as the Sinopians shall send them sufficient ships for the whole Grecian army to embark—Xenophon's design of building a city in the Pontus is frustrated by the calumny of Silanus the soothsayer—Others also, by means of the centurions, are desirous of persuading the army to settle on that coast.
- VII. Xenophon, being reported as the author of the above-mentioned design, is induced to defend himself in an eloquent speech; in the course of which he gives a circumstantial account of the cruel and nefarious conduct of certain Greeks—An inquiry into the affair and the punishment of the malefactors are unanimously decreed by the council.
- VIII. The generals in command, by the same decree, being subjected to an investigation of their conduct, Xenophon is arraigned by some of the privates for violence and blows—He confesses that he had sometimes dealt disciplinary blows among them, but maintains that they were bestowed without tyranny or injustice; and by solid argument and detail of facts removes all ground of accusation.

#### BOOK VI.

CHAP. I. The ambassadors of the Paphlagonians sent to negotiate a peace are treated by the Greeks with a sumptuous banquet, and are led to admiration of them by dances in arms—Peace being concluded the next day, the Greeks set sail from Cotyora, and after a prosperous voyage land at Harmene, a port near Sinope—Here they remain five days, and weary of indecision, offer the command of the whole army to Xenophon's sole acceptance—He prudently refuses, and Chiriosophus, lately returned, is placed at the head of affairs.

II. The whole army sails to Heraclea, where a sedition arises among the troops, and they divide themselves into three distinct bodies: one and the largest, consisting of Arcadians and Achæans, chooses for

- itself ten prætors or commanders; another remains under the command of Chirisophus; the third is attached to Xenophon.
- III. The Arcadians, eager of booty, set out the first, and being arrived in the port of Calpe, march forth and overpower and plunder the Bithynians—Presently they are beset by them on a rising ground, and are in great danger of destruction—Xenophon, hearing of their distress, terrifies the Bithynians by fires in the night—They raise the siege and depart—Xenophon arrives in safety the next day with the Arcadians at the port of Calpe, where he finds Chirisophus landed with his troops.
- IV. Description of the port of Calpe—The soldiers refuse to encamp at this place, so well fortified by nature, lest they be detained there to build a city; and prefer passing the night on the open shore—Three days afterward they pass a decree that no one, under punishment of death, shall hereafter propose to divide the forces—Desirous of marching out to collect provisions, whereof they are deficient, they consult the entrails, but find them unfavourable—Neon nevertheless leads out two thousand men to forage—The cavalry of Pharnabazus kills five hundred of them; and the rest, who had taken refuge on a mountain, are at length brought back by Xenophon to the camp.
- V. Admonished by the danger of their situation, the soldiers at length suffer their camp to be pitched in the fortified place, and surround it with intrenchments—Xenophon, having sacrificed with favourable auspices, leaves the camp under a guard, and leads out the armed forces—They bury the dead whom they find on their path, and having captured some booty in the villages, they behold the Barbarians posted on a hill—Forming their line of battle, they advance on the enemy, and being impeded by a valley, they are encouraged to pass it by the bravery and eloquence of Xenophon—The Barbarians are vanquished and put to flight.
- VI. The Greeks gather booty on all sides from the lands of the Bithynians—In the interim arrives Cleander, a Spartan harmostes, or governor, and with him appears Dexippus, by whose knavery Cleander is indisposed towards the Grecian army—By Xenophon's endeavour he is reconciled, and being offered the command of the forces, he declines it on religious principles—Under its former leaders, therefore, the army marches through the territory of the Bithynians, and laden with plunder arrives at Chrysopolis of Chalcedonia.

## BOOK VII.

- CHAP. I. Anaxibius, admiral of the Spartan fleet, induced by the promises of Pharnabazus, prevails on the Greeks, by a false hope of pay, to cross over to Byzantium—Deceiving them again by the same hope, he draws them forth from the city—The gates being closed, and none of his promises performed, the soldiers break in again by main force—Appealed by Xenophon, they evacuate Byzantium a second time, and listen to the proposals of Cyratades, a Greek, who offers to be their leader—Unable after some days to satisfy the demands of the army, he renounces his vain pretensions, and abdicates the command.
- I. The generals disagree about their route, and many of the soldiers leave the army—Three hundred are sold as slaves by Aristarchus, the governor of Byzantium—He lays a plot to seize Xenophon, who avoids it, and with a few chosen officers repairs to Seuthes, to inform himself on what terms Seuthes is desirous to engage the services of the Greek troops.

- III. With the exception of Neon and his men, the Greeks approve of the terms which Seuthes offers them, and repair to his standard—The treaty being concluded, a banquet in the Thracian style is attended by the generals—Seuthes holds council with the Greeks on the plan of the expedition now to be undertaken—At midnight they set out on their march against the enemy, and surprise them the next day unprepared and unawares, making a great prey of slaves and cattle.
- IV. Seuthes sets fire to the villages of the enemy—The Greeks, distressed by the severity of the cold in the open field, retire to winter-quarters in the farm-houses—On the plea of negotiating their terms of submission, the Barbarians, who had fled to the mountains, present themselves to a conference; but in the nighttime they come down to the houses they had noted, and suddenly attack the Greeks, by whom being repulsed, they at length surrender to the dominion of Seuthes.
- V. The Greeks receive a part only of their pay, and though dissatisfied, are prevailed on by Seuthes to assist him in reducing other Barbarians to his authority—The remainder of their pay is still withheld, and they are enraged against Xenophon on that account.
- VI. In the mean time they are invited by the Lacedæmonians to serve in the war against Tissaphernes, and a certain Arcadian takes occasion to accuse Xenophon of malversation in regard to the pay, for which he votes him worthy of the severest punishment—Xenophon defends himself in an able speech, and is defended also by the Spartan deputies, and by Polycrates an Athenian—Afterward he is asked by Seuthes to remain with him, retaining a thousand men under his command—But Xenophon, having consulted the victims, determines to depart with the army.
- VII. The Greeks on their departure furnish themselves with necessaries from the Thracian villages, and offend the avarice of Medosades, to whom the country had been given as his possession—He uses every endeavour to drive them thence, and prevails on Xenophon to have fresh recourse to Seuthes for the pay. Xenophon in a long discourse admonishes Seuthes that it is both honourable and useful to pay the Greeks the wages that remain due to them. Having received effects for that purpose, he delivers them to the Spartans for distribution among the soldiers.
- VIII. The army crosses over to Lampsacus. Xenophon is persuaded by Euclides the soothsayer to offer sacrifices to Jupiter Mellichius. He does so on the following day, and passes through various places with the army to Pergamus. Heilas, the mother of Gongylus and Gorgion, advises Xenophon to attack Asidates—Xenophon obeys, and at first retreats from an unsuccessful assault with some inconvenience; but on the next day he executes the enterprise with full success—Returning to Pergamus, he receives, at the desire of all, a large share of the booty, and delivers the army of Thimbron—A summary of the route and of the distance marched in the Expedition and Retreat.

# EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.<sup>1</sup>

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## BOOK I.

CHAP. I. CYRUS was the youngest son of Darius by Parysatis, and brother to Artaxerxes. Darius, being sick, and apprehensive of his approaching end, desired both his sons might attend him. Artaxerxes the eldest being then present, he sent for Cyrus from his government with which he had invested him as satrap,<sup>2</sup> having also appointed him general of all the people who assemble in the plain of Castolus. On this, Cyrus came to court, accompanied by Tissaphernes as his friend, and attended by three hundred heavy-armed Greeks, under the command of Xenias, a Parrhasian.

After the death of Darius, and the accession of Artaxerxes, Tissaphernes<sup>3</sup> accuses Cyrus to his

<sup>1</sup> D'Ablancourt has thought fit to change the title given by Xenophon to his history, and, instead of *The Expedition of Cyrus*, to call it, *La Retraite des Dix Mille*. The reason he gives for it is this: he says, Things ought to derive their name from that which is most remarkable in them, and that the Expedition is nothing in comparison to the Retreat. I own this reason does not persuade me: whatever weight it ought to have had with the author, I think it should have none with a translator.

<sup>2</sup> Satrap, though used both by Latin and Greek authors, is a Persian word, and signifies a commander, a general.

<sup>3</sup> This is the same Tissaphernes over whom Alcibiades gained so great an ascendant, that he governed him, not only in his politics, but in his pleasures. We shall find him in the course of this history at the head of the Persian army that endeavoured in vain to cut off the retreat of the Greeks. But the treachery he was guilty of in relation to the Greek generals, after they had incautiously put themselves in his hands, must render his name so odious, that it may not be unacceptable to the reader

brother of treason. Artaxerxes gives credit to the accusation, and orders Cyrus to be apprehended, with a design to put him to death; but his mother, having saved him by her intercession, sends him back to his government. Cyrus, as soon as he left the court after this danger and disgrace, deliberates by what means he may no longer be subject to his brother, but if possible reign in his place. In this he was supported by his mother Parysatis, who had a greater love for Cyrus than for the king Artaxerxes; and when any persons belonging to the court resorted to him, he sent them back more disposed to favour him than the king. Besides, he took so great care of the Barbarians who were with him, as to render them both good soldiers and affectionate to his service: he also levied an army of Greeks with all possible secrecy, that might find the king in no degree prepared to resist him. And whenever he recruited the garrisons that were dispersed in the several cities under his command, he ordered each of their officers to enlist as many Peloponnesians as possible, and of those the best men they could get, under pretence that Tissaphernes had a design on those cities; for the cities of Ionia formerly belonged to Tissaphernes, having been given to him by the king; but at that time they had all revolted from him to Cyrus, except Miletus; the inhabitants of which being engaged in the same design, and Tissaphernes having early notice of their intention, put some of them to death, and banished others; these Cyrus received, and raising an army, besieged Miletus both by sea and land endeavouring to restore the banished citizens; thus

to be informed of his fate after this history leaves him. Agesilaus being sent by the Lacedæmonians at the head of an army into Asia, and having gained many advantages over the Persians, Artaxerxes looked on Tissaphernes as the cause of the ill success of his arms; and being incensed against him by Parysatis, in revenge for his behaviour to Cyrus, he appointed Tithraustes to succeed him in his government, with orders to cut off his head; this happened in the first year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad: that is, about five years after the expedition of Cyrus

he made another pretence for raising an army; and sending to the king, he desired, that as he was his brother, he might have the command of these cities rather than Tissaphernes. In this also he was assisted by his mother; so that the king was not sensible of the design that was formed against him; but looking on these preparations as directed against Tissaphernes, was under no concern at their making war on one another; for Cyrus sent the king all the taxes that were raised in those cities which had been under the government of Tissaphernes.

He had also another army raised for him in the Chersonesus, over-against Abydos, in this manner. There was a banished Lacedæmonian, his name Clearchus: Cyrus, becoming acquainted with him, admired the man, and made him a present of ten thousand daricks;<sup>1</sup> with which money Clearchus raised an army, and marching out of the Chersonesus, made war on the Thracians, who inhabit above the Hellespont; which, being a great advantage to the Greeks, induced the cities on the Hellespont to subsist his forces with greater cheerfulness. Thus was this army also secretly maintained for his service. Aristippus of Thessaly, between whom and Cyrus there was an intercourse of hospitality, being oppressed by a contrary faction at home, came to him, demanding two thousand mercenaries, and their pay for three months; in hope, by their assistance, to subdue his adversaries. Cyrus granted him four thousand men, and six months' pay, desiring him to come to no terms with his adversaries without consulting him. In this

<sup>1</sup> The darick was a Persian gold coin. Suidas, Harpocration, and the scholiast of Aristophanes say it was of equal value with the Attic χρυσος, or with twenty silver drachms, that is, the fifth part of a silver mina, sixty of which made a talent, which last amounted to 193*l.* 15*s.* sterling; so that ten thousand daricks will make thirty-three talents and one-third, or 6458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* of our money. On the reverse of this coin was an archer, which gave occasion to Agesilaus to say that he was driven out of Asia by thirty thousand archers, meaning so many daricks, distributed among the Greek cities by the King of Persia.



manner the army in Thessaly was also privately maintained for his use. At the same time he ordered Proxenus, the Bœotian, a friend of his, to attend with all the men he could raise, giving it out that he designed to make war on the Pisidians,<sup>1</sup> who, it was said, infested his country. He then ordered Sophænetus the Stymphalian, and Socrates the Achaian with whom also he was in habits of intimacy, to come to him with as many men as they could raise, pretending to make war on Tissaphernes, in conjunction with the banished Milesians. These too obeyed his commands.

II. Having now determined to march into the Upper Asia, he pretended his design was to drive the Pisidians entirely out of the country: and, as against them, he assembles there both his Barbarian and Greek forces; commanding at the same time Clearchus with all his troops to attend him, and Aristippus to come to an agreement with his fellow-citizens, and send his army to him. He also appointed Xenias the Arcadian, who had the command of the mercenaries in the several cities, to come to him with all his men, leaving only sufficient garrisons in the citadels. He next ordered all the troops that were employed in the siege of Miletus, together with the banished citizens, to join him, engaging to the last, if his expedition was attended with success, not to lay down his arms till he had restored them. These cheerfully obeyed him, for they gave credit to what he said; and taking their arms with them, came to Sardis.<sup>2</sup> Xenias also came thither with the garrisons he had drawn out of the cities, consisting of four

<sup>1</sup> The Pisidians inhabited the mountainous part of Asia Minor, which lies between the Phrygians, Lydians, and Carians, to whom they were very troublesome neighbours.

<sup>2</sup> Sardis was the capital of Lydia, and the seat of its kings: the first Cyrus took it after a siege of fourteen days, and in it Cræsus, after he had reigned as many years. It was afterward set on fire by the Ionians, and with it the temple of the goddess Cybele; which was the pretence afterward made use of by Xerxes for burning the temples of the Greeks

thousand heavy-armed men. Proxenus brought with him fifteen hundred heavy-armed and five hundred light-armed men. Sophænetus, the Stymphalian, a thousand heavy-armed; Socrates, the Achaian, about five hundred heavy-armed; Pasion, the Megarean, seven hundred men. Both he and Socrates were among those who were employed in the siege of Miletus. These came to him to Sardis. Tissaphernes, observing all this, and looking on these preparations as greater than were necessary against the Pisidians, went to the king with all the haste he could, taking with him about five hundred horse; and the king, being informed by Tissaphernes of the intended expedition of Cyrus, prepared himself to oppose him.

Cyrus, with the forces I have mentioned, marched from Sardis; and advancing through Lydia, in three days<sup>1</sup> made twenty-two parasangs, as far as the river Mæander. This river is two plethra in breadth; and having a bridge over it supported by seven boats, he passed over, and advanced through Phrygia, making in one day's march eight parasangs, to Colosea, a large city, rich and well inhabited, where he staid seven days, when Menon the Thessalian came to him, with a thousand heavy-armed men, and five hundred targeteers, consisting of Dolopians, Ænians, and Olynthians. From thence he made, in three days' march, twenty parasangs to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, large, rich, and well inhabited. Here the palace of Cyrus stood, with a large park<sup>2</sup> full of wild beasts,

<sup>1</sup> I have said three days' march, in the same manner as the Roman authors say, *tertiis castris*, without any regard to the particular distance from one place to another, but only to the motion of the army.

<sup>2</sup> This word is no doubt of Persian original, and like many other Persian words, as Julius Pollus says, commonly used by the Greeks. These parks, planted with stately forest and fruit-trees of every kind, well watered, and stocked with plenty of wild beasts, were very deservedly in great request among the Persians. Plutarch tells us, that Tissaphernes, to show his opinion of the elegance of Alcibiades' taste, gave this name to that which belonged to him. The ecclesiastical writers after St. Jerome have thought fit to translate the garden of Eden in Moses, *Paradisus voluptatis*.

which Cyrus hunted on horseback, when he had a mind to exercise himself and his horses. Through the middle of this park runs the river Mæander, but the head of it rises in the palace; it runs also through the city of Celænæ. There is, besides, a fortified palace belonging to the great king<sup>1</sup> in Celænæ, at the head of the river Marsyas, under the citadel. This river likewise runs through the city, and falls into the Mæander. The Marsyas is twenty-five feet broad: here Apollo is said to have slain Marsyas; whom, contending with him in music, he had overcome, and to have hung up his skin in the cave from whence the springs flow: for this reason the river is called Marsyas. Here Xerxes, when he fled from Greece after his defeat, is said to have built both this palace and the citadel of Celænæ. Here Cyrus staid thirty days, and hither Clearchus the banished Lacedæmonian came with a thousand heavy-armed men, five hundred Thracian targeteers, and two hundred Cretan archers. At the same time Sosias the Syracusan came with a thousand heavy-armed men, and Sophænetus the Arcadian with a thousand more. Here Cyrus reviewed the Greeks in the park, and took an account of their numbers; they amounted in the whole to eleven thousand heavy-armed men, and about two thousand targeteers.

From hence Cyrus made in two days' march ten parasangs, and arrived at Peltæ, a city well inhabited: there he staid three days, during which Xenias the Arcadian solemnized the Lupercalian<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the title given by all the Greek authors to the King of Persia, which is preserved to the successors of Mahomet in that of the Grand Signior.

<sup>2</sup> This was an Arcadian sacrifice, instituted in honour of Pan, and brought by Evander into Italy, when he, with his followers, settled on the Palatine hill. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, from whom I have this, adds, that after the sacrifice was over, the priests ran through the streets naked all but their middle, which was covered with the skins of the victims newly sacrificed; this sacrifice, he says, continued to his time, which is confirmed by Dion Cassius and Plutarch. Virgil has taken notice of this circumstance of the Lupercalian priests running naked, among the other points of history with which the shield of Æneas is embellished.

sacrifice, and celebrated a game: the prizes were golden scrapers: at this game Cyrus was present. From thence he made in two marches twelve parasangs, and came to the market of the Cramians, a city well inhabited, the last of the country of Mysia. From thence he made in three days' march thirty parasangs, and arrived at a well-peopled city, called the Plain of Caystrus, where he staid five days. There was now due to the soldiers above three months' pay, which they, coming often to his door, demanded. He continued to give them hopes, and was visibly concerned; for he was not of a temper to deny money when he had it. Hither Epyaxa, the wife to Syennesis, king of the Cilicians, came to Cyrus: it was said she made him a present of great sums of money. Cyrus therefore gave the army four months' pay at that time. The Cilician queen had a guard of Cilicians and Aspendians; and Cyrus was reported to have had an amour with her.

From thence he made, in two days' march, ten parasangs, and came to the city of Thymbrium, a town well inhabited. Here was a fountain near the road called the fountain of Midas, King of Phrygia, where Midas is said to have caught the satyr, by mixing the fountain with wine. From thence he made, in two days' march, ten parasangs, and arrived at Tyriæum, a populous town, where he staid three days. And here, it is said, the Cilician queen desired Cyrus to show her his army. In compliance, therefore, with her request, Cyrus reviewed in the plain both his Greek and Barbarian forces; ordering the Greeks to dispose themselves according to their custom, and stand in order of battle, and that each of the commanders should draw up his own men; so they were drawn up four deep. Menon had the right with his people, and Clearchus the left with his men; the rest of the generals being in the centre. First, therefore, Cyrus viewed the Barbarians (they marched by him drawn

up in troops and companies); then the Greeks, Cyrus driving by them on a car, and the Cilician queen in a chariot.<sup>1</sup> They had all brazen helmets, scarlet vests, greaves, and burnished shields. After he had passed by them all, he stopped his car in the centre of the front, and sending Pigres, his interpreter, to the Greek generals, ordered the whole line to present their pikes, and advance in order of battle: these conveyed his orders to the soldiers; who, when the trumpets sounded, presented their pikes and advanced; then marching faster than ordinary, with shouts, ran of their own accord to the tents. On this, many of the Barbarians were seized with fear: the Cilician queen quitted her chariot and fled; and the sutlers, leaving their commodities, ran away: the Greeks, not without laughter, repaired to their tents. The Cilician queen, seeing the lustre and order of their army, was in admiration, and Cyrus pleased to see the terror with which the Greeks had struck the Barbarians.

Thence, in three days' march, he made twenty parasangs, and came to Iconium, the last city of Phrygia, where he staid three days. Thence he made, in five days' march, thirty parasangs through Lycaonia; which being an enemy's country, he gave the Greeks leave to plunder it. From hence he sent the Cilician queen into Cilicia the shortest way, and appointed Menon the Thessalian, himself, with his soldiers, to escort her. Cyrus, with the rest of the army, moved on through Cappadocia, and in four days' march made five-and-twenty parasangs to Dana, a large and rich city well inhabited. Here he staid three days, during which he put to death Megaphernes, a Persian, one of his courtiers, with another person who had a principal command, accusing them of treachery. Thence they prepared to

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch employs this word for a close carriage used by women. D'Ablancourt has not distinguished it in his translation from *ἀναζα*.

penetrate into Cilicia. The entrance was just broad enough for a chariot to pass, very steep, and inaccessible to an army, if there had been any opposition; and Syennesis was said to have possessed himself of the eminences, in order to guard the pass; for which reason Cyrus staid one day in the plain. The day after news was brought by a messenger that Syennesis had quitted the eminences on information that both Menon's army was in Cilicia, within the mountains, and also that Tamos was sailing round from Ionia to Cilicia with the galleys that belonged to the Lacedæmonians, and to Cyrus who immediately marched up the mountains without opposition, and made himself master of the tents in which the Cilicians lay to oppose his passage. From thence he descended into a large and beautiful plain, well watered, and full of all sorts of trees and vines; abounding in sesame,<sup>1</sup> panic, millet, wheat, and barley; and is surrounded with a strong and high ridge of hills from sea to sea.

After he had left the mountains he advanced through the plain, and having made five-and-twenty parasangs in four days' march, arrived at Tarsus,<sup>2</sup> a large and rich city of Cilicia, where stood the palace

<sup>1</sup> This plant is common in the Levant, and is called by Tournefort *digitalis orientalis*; of the seed of which they make an oil that is good to eat, and for several other uses. Panic and millet are so like one another, that they are scarce to be distinguished but by the manner in which they bring forth their grain, the former bearing it in ears, and the latter in bunches: they both make very bad bread, and are chiefly used to fatten fowls. D'Ablancourt has thought fit to render this period by *remplie de toutes sortes de fruits et de grains*; but his reason for it is still more curious than his translation. I was so much entertained with the vivacity of it, that I cannot help transcribing his words: *Je l'ai tranché, says he, en deux mots, pour ne pas venir à un détail ennuyeux.*

<sup>2</sup> Tarsus, a considerable city of Cilicia, was built by Sardanapalus, who built both that and Anchialus, another city not far from it, in one day; which, though incredible to those who do not consider how many millions of men the Assyrian kings had at their command, is however attested by an Assyrian inscription, which Arrian has translated. This inscription was, it seems, engraved on the monument of this prince, or which stood his statue, in the attitude of a person who expresses a contempt, with his hands clapped together, or, as Strabo says, I think probably, by seeming to snap his fingers.

of Syennesis, King of Cilicia; having the river Cydnus<sup>1</sup> running through the middle of it, and is two hundred feet in breadth. This city was abandoned by the inhabitants, who, with Syennesis, fled to a fastness on the mountains, those only excepted who kept the public houses: but the inhabitants of Soli<sup>2</sup> and Issi, who lived near the sea, did not quit their habitations. Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, came to Tarsus five days before Cyrus. In the passage over the mountains into the plain two companies of Menon's army were missing. It was said by some, that while they were intent on plunder, they were cut off by the Cilicians; and by others, that being left behind, and unable to find the rest of the army, or gain the road, they wandered about the country, and were destroyed. The number of these amounted to one hundred heavy-armed men.<sup>3</sup> The rest, as soon as they arrived, resenting the loss of their companions, plundered both the city of Tarsus and the palace that stood there. Cyrus, as soon as he entered the city, sent for Syennesis; but he, alleging that he had never yet put himself in the hands of any person of superior power, declined coming, till his wife prevailed on him, and received assurance from Cyrus. After that, when they met, Syennesis gave Cyrus great sums of money to pay his army, and Cyrus made him such presents as are of great value among kings; these were, a horse with a golden bit, a chain, bracelets, and a scimitar of gold, with a Persian

<sup>1</sup> This river rises out of Mount Taurus, and running through a clean country is remarkable for the coldness and clearness of its stream: this tempted Alexander after a long and sultry march to bathe in it; which had like to have put an end both to his life and his victories; but the care of his physician, or the strength of his constitution, soon recovered him, and once more let him loose on mankind.

<sup>2</sup> This city was afterward called Pompeiopolis. It was formerly a colony of the Athenians, who, forgetting, by length of time, their mother-tongue, or at least the grammar of it, spoke a barbarous language, from whom the word *solecism*, so dreadful in the ears of schoolboys, took its name.

<sup>3</sup> By this passage it seems that their companies consisted of fifty men each.

robe, besides the exemption of his country from further plunder; to this he added the restitution of the prisoners they had taken wherever they were found.

III. Here Cyrus and the army staid twenty days, the soldiers declaring they would go no farther: for they suspected he was leading them against the king, and said they were not raised for that service. Clearchus was the first who endeavoured to force his men to go on; but as soon as he began to march they threw stones at him, and at his sumpter horses, so that he narrowly escaped being then stoned to death. Afterward, when he saw it was not in his power to prevail by force, he called his men together, and first stood still a considerable time, shedding many tears, while the soldiers beheld him in amaze and silence; then spoke to them in the following manner:

“Fellow-soldiers! wonder not that I am concerned at the present posture of affairs; for I am engaged to Cyrus by the rights of hospitality; and when I was banished, among other marks of distinction with which he honoured me, he gave me ten thousand daricks. After I had received this money I did not treasure it up for my own use, or lavish it in pleasures, but laid it out on you. And first, I made war on the Thracians, and, with your assistance, revenged the injuries they had done to Greece, by driving them out of the Chersonesus, where they were endeavouring to dispossess the Greek inhabitants of their lands. After that, when I was summoned by Cyrus, I carried you to him with this view, that, if there were occasion, I might in return for his favours be of service to him; but, since you refuse to go on with me, and I am under a necessity either, by betraying you, to rely on the friendship of Cyrus, or, by being false to him, to adhere to you, though I am in doubt whether I shall do right or not; however, I have determined to give you the preference, and with you to suffer every thing that may happen. Neither



shall any one say, that, having led the Greeks among Barbarians, I betrayed the Greeks, and preferred the friendship of the Barbarians; but, since you refuse to obey me, and to follow me, I will follow you and share in all your sufferings; for I look on you as my country, my friends, and fellow-soldiers, and that with you I shall live in honour wherever I am; but without you, that I shall neither be useful to my friends nor formidable to my enemies. Be assured, therefore, that whithersoever you go, I resolve to go with you." Thus spoke Clearchus. The soldiers, both those who belonged to him and the rest of the army, hearing this, commended him for declaring he would not march against the king: and above two thousand left Xenias and Pasion, and taking their arms and baggage with them, came and encamped with Clearchus.

These things gave Cyrus great perplexity and uneasiness; so he sent for Clearchus, who refused to go, but despatched a messenger to him, unknown to the soldiers, with encouragement that this affair would take a favourable turn. He advised Cyrus to send for him, but at the same time let him know that he did not design to go to him. After this, assembling his own soldiers, with those who were lately come to him, and as many of the rest as desired to be present, he spoke to them as follows:

"Fellow-soldiers! it is certain the affairs of Cyrus are in the same situation in respect to us, with ours in regard to him; for neither are we any longer his soldiers, since we refuse to follow him, nor does he any longer give us pay. I know he thinks himself unjustly treated by us; so that, when he sends for me, I refuse to go to him, chiefly through shame, because I am conscious to myself of having deceived him in every thing; in the next place, through fear, lest he should cause me to be apprehended and punished for the wrongs he thinks I have done him. I am therefore of opinion that this is no time for us

to sleep, or to neglect the care of ourselves, but to consult what is to be done. If we stay, we are to consider by what means we may stay with the greatest security; and if we resolve to go away, how we may go with the greatest safety, and supply ourselves with provisions; for, without these, neither a commander nor a private man can be of any use. Cyrus is a very valuable friend, where he is a friend; but the severest enemy, where he is an enemy. He is also master of that strength in foot, horse, and at sea which we all both see and are acquainted with; for truly we do not seem to be encamped at a great distance from him; so that this is the time for every one to advise what he judges best." Here he stopped.

On this some rose up of their own accord to give their opinions; others, by his direction, to show the difficulties either of staying or going, without the approbation of Cyrus. One, pretending to be in haste to return to Greece, said that, if Clearchus refused to conduct them thither, they ought immediately to choose other generals, to buy provisions (there being a market in the Barbarians' camp), and pack up their baggage; then go to Cyrus and demand ships of him to transport them; which if he refused, to desire a commander to conduct them, as through a friend's country; "and if this also be refused," continued he, "we ought forthwith to draw up a declaration of battle, and send a detachment to secure the eminences, that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians (many of whom we have taken prisoners, and whose effects we have plundered and still possess) may prevent us." After him Clearchus spoke to this effect:

"Let none of you propose me to be general in this expedition, for I see many things that forbid it; but consider me as one resolved to obey, as far as possible, the person you shall choose, that you may be convinced I also know, as well as any other, how to submit to command." After him another got up,

I.—D

showing the folly of the man who advised to demand the ships, as if Cyrus would not resume his expedition. He showed also how weak a thing it was to apply for a guide to that person whose undertaking we had defeated. "If," says he, "we can place any confidence in a guide appointed by him, what hinders us from desiring Cyrus himself to secure those eminences for us? I own I should be unwilling to go on board the transports he may give us, lest he should sink the ships. I should also be afraid to follow the guide he may appoint, lest he should lead us into some place out of which we could not disengage ourselves; and since it is proposed we should go away without the consent of Cyrus, I wish we could also go without his knowledge, which is impossible. These then are vain thoughts. I am therefore of opinion that proper persons, together with Clearchus, should go to Cyrus, and ask him in what service he proposes to employ us; and to acquaint him that, if the present undertaking be of the same nature with that in which he before made use of foreign troops, we will follow him, and behave ourselves as brave as those who attended him on that occasion; but if this enterprise appears to be of greater moment than the former, and to be attended with greater labour and danger, that we desire he will either prevail on us by persuasion to follow him, or suffer himself to be prevailed on to allow us to return home. By this means, if we follow him, we shall follow him as friends, with cheerfulness; and if we return, we shall return with safety. And let them report to us what he says, which we may then consider of." This was resolved.

Having chosen the persons, therefore, they sent them with Clearchus, who asked Cyrus the questions appointed by the army; to which he made this answer: "I am informed that Abrocomas, my enemy, lies near the Euphrates, at the distance of twelve days' march: my intention therefore is, if I find him,

to punish him, by leading my army against him; but if he flies from the place, I will there consider what we are to do." This coming to the ears of those who were appointed to attend Cyrus, made their report to the soldiers, who suspected his design was to lead them against the king: yet they resolved to follow him; and when they demanded an increase of pay, he promised to give them half as much more as they had already, that is, instead of one darick, a darick and a half every month to each man. But it was not even then known that he intended to lead them against the king; at least it was not public.

IV. Hence he made in two days' march ten parasangs, to the river Pharus, which was three hundred feet broad; from thence to the river Pyramus, which is one stadium in breadth, making in one march five parasangs; from which place he made, in two days' march, fifteen parasangs, and arrived at Issus, the last town of Cilicia situated near the sea, a large city, rich and well inhabited; where he staid three days, during which time five-and-thirty ships, with Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian, the admiral, at the head, sailed from Peloponnesus, and came to Cyrus, being conducted from Ephesus by Tamos, an Egyptian, who carried with him five-and-twenty other ships belonging to Cyrus, with which he had besieged Miletus, because that city was in friendship with Tissaphernes, against whom Tamos made war in conjunction with Cyrus. With these ships also came Chrisophus, the Lacedæmonian, whom Cyrus had sent for, with seven hundred heavy-armed men, which he commanded under Cyrus, before whose tent the ships lay at anchor. Hither also four hundred heavy-armed Greeks came to Cyrus (leaving Abrocomas, in whose service they were), and marched with him against the king.

Hence Cyrus made in one march five parasangs, to the gates of Cilicia and Syria. These were two fortresses, of which the inner next Cilicia was pos

essed by Syennesis with a guard of Cilicians, and the outer next to Syria was said to be defended by the king's troops. Between these two fortresses runs a river, called Kersus, one hundred feet in breadth. The interval between them was three stadia in the whole, through which it was not possible to force a way; the pass being narrow, the fortresses reaching down to the sea, and above were inaccessible rocks. In both these fortresses stood the gates. In order to gain this pass, Cyrus sent for his ships, that, by landing his heavy-armed men both within and without the gates, they might force their passage through the Syrian gates, if defended by the enemy; which he expected Abrocomas, who was at the head of a great army, would attempt. Abrocomas, however, did not do this; but as soon as he heard Cyrus was in Cilicia, he suddenly left Phœnicia, and went back to the king, with an army consisting, as it was said, of three hundred thousand men.

Hereon Cyrus proceeded through Syria, and in one march made five parasangs to Myriandrus, a city near the sea, inhabited by the Phœnicians, which being a mart-town, where many merchant-ships lay at anchor, they continued seven days; during which Xenias the Arcadian general, and Pasion the Megarean, took ship, and putting their most valuable effects on board, sailed away. It was the general opinion that this was owing to their resentment against Clearchus, whom Cyrus had suffered to retain the troops that left them, and put themselves under his command with a view of returning to Greece and not of marching against the king. As soon, therefore, as they disappeared, a rumour was spread that Cyrus would follow them with his galleys. Some wished that, having acted perfidiously, they might be taken; others pitied them, if they should fall into his hands.

Cyrus immediately assembled together the general officers, and spoke thus to them: "Xenias and Pasion

have left us; but let them be assured that they are not gone away so as to be concealed (for I know whither they are going); neither are they escaped (for my galleys can come up with their sl'p). But I call the gods to witness that I do not intend to pursue them; neither shall any one say, that while people are with me, I use their service; but that, when they desire to leave me, I seize them, treat them ill, and rob them of their fortunes. Let them go, therefore, and remember they have behaved themselves worse to me than I to them. Their wives and children are under a guard at Tralles: however, not even these shall they be deprived of, but shall receive them in return for the gallant behaviour they have formerly shown to my service." The Greeks, if any before showed a backwardness to the enterprise, seeing this instance of Cyrus's virtue, followed him with greater pleasure and cheerfulness.

After this, Cyrus in four days' march made twenty parasangs, and came to the river Chalus, which is one hundred feet broad, and full of large tame fish,<sup>1</sup> which the Syrians look on as gods, and do not suffer them to be hurt any more than pigeons. The villages in which they encamped belonged to Parysatis, and were given to her for her table. Thirty parasangs more, in five days' march, brought him to the source of the river Daradax, the breadth of which was one hundred feet, having near it the palace of Belesis, who was formerly governor of Syria, with a very large and beautiful park, producing every thing proper to the season. Cyrus laid waste the park, and burned the palace. From thence, in three days' march, he made fifteen parasangs, and came to the river Euphrates, which is four stadia in breadth; where, being

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, in his treatise of the Syrian goddess, has a passage that will explain this of Xenophon; he says, The Syrians looked on fish as a sacred thing, and never touched them; and that they ate all birds pigeons, which they esteemed holy. He adds, These superstitions owing to their respect for Derceto and Semiramis, the first of whom the shape of a fish, and the other was changed into a pigeon.

the large and flourishing city of Thapsacus,<sup>1</sup> they remained five days ; during which Cyrus, sending for the generals of the Greeks, told them that he proposed marching to Babylon against the great king, and ordered them to acquaint the soldiers with it, and to persuade them to follow him. Hereon they called them together, and informed them of it ; but the soldiers were angry with their generals, saying, they knew this before, but concealed it ; and therefore refused to march unless they had money given them, as the other soldiers had, who before attended Cyrus to his father, and that not to fight, but only to wait on him when his father sent for him. The generals immediately gave an account of this to Cyrus, who promised to give every man five minæ of silver as soon as they came to Babylon, and their full pay till he brought them back to Ionia ; by which means great part of the Greeks were prevailed on : but Menon, before it appeared whether the rest of the soldiers would follow Cyrus or not, called his own men together apart, and spoke thus to them :

“Fellow-soldiers ! if you will follow my advice, you shall, without danger or labour, be in greater esteem with Cyrus than the rest of the army. What then do I advise ? Cyrus is this minute entreating the Greeks to follow him against the king. I say, therefore, we ought to pass the Euphrates before it appears what answer the rest of the Greeks will make to him ; for, if they determine to follow him, you will be looked on as the cause of it by first passing the river, and Cyrus will not only think himself under an obligation to you, as to those who are the most zealous for his service, but will return it, which no man better understands ; but if the rest determine otherwise, we will then all return. As you only are obedient to his orders, he will look on you as persons of the greatest fidelity, and as such employ you

<sup>1</sup> Here Darius passed the Euphrates with the broken remains of his army after his defeat at Issus

in the command both of garrisons and of companies; and I am confident you will find Cyrus your friend in whatever else you desire of him." The soldiers, hearing this, followed his advice, and passed the Euphrates before the rest had returned an answer. When Cyrus heard they had passed the river he was pleased, and sending Glus to them, ordered him to say to them, in his name—"Soldiers! I praise you for what you have done, and will take care that you also shall have reason to praise me: if I do not, think me no longer Cyrus." Hereon, the soldiers conceiving great hopes, prayed for his success; after which, having, as it was reported, sent magnificent presents to Menoh, he, at the head of his army, passed the river, the water not reaching above their breasts, notwithstanding the inhabitants of Thapsacus declared that the river was never fordable before, or passable but in boats, which Abrocomas had burnt, as he marched before them, to prevent Cyrus from passing over: it seemed therefore providential,<sup>1</sup> and that the river visibly submitted to Cyrus, as to its future king.

V. From thence he advanced through Syria,<sup>2</sup> and, having in nine days' march made fifty parasangs, came to the river Araxes;<sup>3</sup> where, being many villages full of corn and wine, he staid three days.

<sup>1</sup> I make no doubt what Xenophon says concerning this submission of the Euphrates was the style of Cyrus's court on this occasion. It seems that the Euphrates was not endued with the same spirit of prophecy that Horace gives to Nereus; otherwise, like him, he would have cried out *mali ducis avi*; and not have suffered his army to have forded him so easily, a favour he afterward denied to Alexander, whose success might have given him a better title to it, and who was obliged to pass this river at the same place over two bridges.

<sup>2</sup> Let not the reader be surprised to find Xenophon mention Syria in Mesopotamia, through which he is now conducting Cyrus; for it appears both by Pliny and Strabo that the country lying between Thapsacus and the Scenite Arabians, of whom he will speak presently, was part of Syria.

<sup>3</sup> I never yet could find this river in any other author but Xenophon mean a river called Araxes that runs through this part of Syria; for everybody knows there are rivers of this name in other parts of Asia, so I must submit it to the learned, whether this river is the Aboras of Marcellinus, which Strabo calls *Αβορρας*, and Ptolemy *Χαβυρας*, and the Arabians *Al Chabur*.



took in provisions, and then proceeded through Arabia, keeping the river Euphrates on his right-hand, and in five days' march through a desert, made thirty-five parasangs. The country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; if any other kinds of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees appeared. Of wild creatures the most numerous were wild asses,<sup>1</sup> and not a few ostriches,<sup>2</sup> besides bustards<sup>3</sup> and roe-

<sup>1</sup> All authors, both ancient and modern, agree that wild asses are exceeding swift. Applan, in his treatise on Hunting, calls the wild ass "swift as the wind," an epithet given by Homer to the horses which Jupiter bestowed on the father of Ganymede, to make him some amends for the loss of his son. The wild ass is very different, both in its shape and colour, from the common ass. There is a skin of this animal at the College of Physicians in London; another I have seen among many other curiosities, natural and artificial, ancient and modern, belonging to my neighbour Sir A. Fountaine. The first of these is stuffed, and by that the creature appears to have been between twelve and thirteen hands high: the colour of every part about him is composed of white and chestnut stripes; his ears, mane, and tail like those of a common ass; his forehead is long and thin, his shoulders fine, his back straight, his body full, his hoofs a little bound, his legs perfectly fine; seems a little goose-rumped; his quarters are thin, and lying under him, and his hams bent inward: to these last three shapes he very probably owes his speed. This doctrine I know all sportsmen will not allow; but many observations in sporting have convinced me of its truth. Pliny tells us, that the foals of wild asses were called *lalisiones*, and were delicate meat. Wild asses are common in the deserts of Numidia and Libya, and particularly in Arabia; they are sold at an excessive price when reclaimed, and it is said the kings of Persia have always stables of them. When they are young, their flesh is like that of a hare, and when old like red venison.

<sup>2</sup> Ostriches are animals very well known; they are common in Africa, South America, and many parts of the Levant, as Arabia and Mesopotamia, &c. I remember to have seen two that were shown at London: we were informed they came from Buenos Ayres: they answered the description given of them in books. Their feathers, in so great request for several kinds of ornaments, particularly on the stage, and anciently in *avar, conos galeasque adornantes penna*, says Pliny; these, I say, come from their tail and wings, and are generally white. The feather of an ostrich was among the Egyptians the emblem of justice. All authors agree, that in running they assist themselves with their wings, in the manner described by Xenophon. Some have thought that this compound motion, which consists both of flying and running, gave occasion to the fiction of the poetical horse Pegasus. It is said they eat iron; which is so far true, that in those dissected in the Academy of Sciences at Paris, they found several pieces of iron money in them more than half diminished; but this was occasioned by the mutual attrition of those pieces, and not by digestion, for they swallow iron to grind their meat, as other birds swallow pebbles for the same purpose.

<sup>3</sup> Bustards are very well known to sportsmen. we have great num

deer,<sup>1</sup> which our horsemen sometimes chased. The asses, when they were pursued, having gained ground of the horses, stood still (for they exceeded them much in speed), and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again; so that our horsemen could take them by no other means but by dividing themselves into relays, and succeeding one another in the chase. The flesh of those that were taken was like that of red deer, but more tender. None could take an ostrich; the horsemen who pursued them soon giving it over: for they flew far away, as they fled making use both of their feet to run, and of their wings when expanded as a sail to waft them along. As for the bustards, they may be taken, if one springs them hastily, they making short flights like partridges, and are soon tired. Their flesh was very delicious.

In marching through the country he came to the river Masca, a hundred feet in breadth, surrounding a large uninhabited city, called Corsote; whence, after continuing three days, taking in provisions, he made ninety parasangs in thirteen days' march, through a desert, still keeping the Euphrates on his right, and came to Pylæ; during which marches many sumpter horses died of hunger, there being no grass, or any

bers of them in Norfolk: they are remarkable for having no more than three claws, like the dotterel and some few other birds: they are scarce to be approached by any contrivance, as I have been taught by many disappointments: possibly this may be owing to their exquisite sense of hearing; no bird having, in proportion to its size, so large an aperture to convey it. What Xenophon says concerning their short flights can only be understood of them before they are full grown; for when they are so they make flights of five or six miles with great ease. Pliny and Xenophon, like many other people, differ in their taste with relation to bustards; the first calls them *damnatas in cibis*; the last we find commends them.

<sup>1</sup> We have no roe-deer in the south of England. They are common in France, *des chevreuils*. I have often seen them hunted there: they run the foil more than a hare, and hunt shorter: they have great speed; but, as they do not run within themselves, but often tappy, and consequently give frequent views, they seldom stand long even before hounds. They are vastly less than our fallow-deer, and are very fat meat, when fat, which seldom happens.

I.—E

other plant, but the whole country entirely barren, the inhabitants being employed near the river in digging millstones, which they afterward fashioned and conveyed to Babylon for sale, to buy provisions for their support. By this time the army wanted corn, and there was none to be bought, but in the Lydian market, which was in the camp of the Barbarians belonging to Cyrus, where a capithe of wheat or barley-meal was sold for four sigli. The sigli is worth seven Attic oboli and a half; and the capithe holds two Attic chœnixes: so that the soldiers lived on flesh. Some of these marches were very long, when Cyrus had a mind his army should go on till they came to water or forage. And once, where the road was narrow, and so deep that the carriages could not pass without difficulty, Cyrus stopped, with those about him of the greatest authority and fortune, and ordered Glus and Pigres to take some of the Barbarians belonging to his army, and help the carriages through; but thinking they went slowly about it, he commanded as in anger the most considerable Persians who were with him to assist in hastening on the carriages, which afforded an instance of their ready obedience; for, throwing off their purple robes, where each of them happened to stand, they ran as if it had been for a prize, even down a very steep hill, in their costly vests and embroidered drawers, some even with chains about their necks and bracelets round their wrists; and leaping into the dirt with these, they lifted up the carriages, and brought them out sooner than can be imagined. On the whole, Cyrus appeared throughout to hasten their march, stopping nowhere unless to get provisions, or for other things that were very necessary; he judging the quicker he marched the more unprepared the king would be to encounter him, and the slower the more numerous would be the king's army; for it was as obvious to any person of attention that the Per-

sian empire, though strong with regard to the extent of country and numbers of men, was however weak by reason of the great distance of places, and the division of its forces, when surprised by a sudden invasion.

In their march through the desert they discovered a large and populous city situated on the other side of the Euphrates, called Carmande, where the soldiers bought provisions, having passed over to it on rafts, by filling the skins<sup>1</sup> which they made use of for tents with dry hay, and sewing them together so close that the water could not get therein: these provisions were such as wine made of the fruit of the palm-trees<sup>2</sup> and panic, there being great plenty of this in the country. It was here that a dispute arose between Menon's soldiers and those of Clearchus. The latter, thinking one of Menon's men in the wrong, struck him; the soldier thereon informed his companions of it, who not only resented it, but were violently incensed against Clearchus; who, the same day, after he had been at the place where the men passed the river, and inspected the provisions, rode back to his own tent with a few attendants through Menon's army; and before the arrival of Cyrus, who was on his way thither, it happened that one of Menon's soldiers, as he was riving wood, saw Clearchus

<sup>1</sup> This method of passing rivers was formerly much in use; as the soldiers' tents were generally made of skins instead of canvass, they had always great numbers of them at hand. The tents of the Romans were also made of skins. Alexander, in his victorious march through Asia, passed several rivers in this manner, particularly the Oxus, the passage of which is described by Arrian in such a manner, that it is obvious to any one he had this description of Xenophon in his eye, which I think he explains much better than I can.

<sup>2</sup> The fruit of the palm-tree is properly called dates, of which there is an infinite variety. Of these they make in Persia a wine, which is very agreeable, but does not keep well. Of this wine Cambyses, when he was in Egypt, sent a hog'shead to the king of the Ethiopians as a present. With this wine the Egyptians washed their dead bodies before they embalmed them. By-the-way, I have always thought that the fruit of a certain palm-tree described by Pliny, who calls the trees *syagri*, answers exactly to the cocoanut. This palm-tree, he says, grew in that part of the Lower Egypt which he calls *Chora Alexandria*.

riding through the camp, and threw his axe at him, but missed him; then another and another threw stones at him, on which a great outcry ensuing, many did the same. However, Clearchus escaped to his own quarter, and immediately ordered his men to their arms. Commanding the heavy-armed soldiers to stand still, resting their shields against their knees, and taking with him the Thracians and the horse, of whom he had above forty in his army, the greatest part Thracians, he rode up to Menon's men, who thereon were in great consternation, as well as Menon himself, and ran to their arms, while others stood amazed, not knowing what to do. Proxenus, for he happened to be coming after them at the head of his heavy-armed men, advanced between them both, and making his soldiers stand to their arms, begged of Clearchus to desist. But he took it very ill that, having narrowly escaped being stoned to death, the other should speak tamely of his grievance; and therefore desired he would withdraw from between them. In the mean time Cyrus came up, and being informed of what had happened, immediately took his arms, and with the Persians who were present rode between them, and spoke to them in the following manner: "Clearchus and Proxenus, and you Greeks who are present! you are not sensible of what you are doing; for, if you fight with one another, be assured that I shall this day be destroyed, and you not long after; for if our affairs decline, all these Barbarians whom you see before you will be greater enemies to you than those belonging to the king." Clearchus, hearing this, came to himself, and both sides, resigning their anger, laid up their arms where they were before.

VI While they were marching forward, there appeared the footing and dung of horses, which, by the print of their feet, were judged to be about two thousand, marching before, burning all the forage and every thing else that could be of any use. There

was a Persian, by name Orontas, a prince of the blood, and of reputation in military affairs equal to the most considerable among the Persians; having formed a design to betray Cyrus, with whom he had before been at war; but being now reconciled, told Cyrus, that if he would give him a thousand horse he would place himself in ambuscade, and either destroy those horse that burnt all before him, or take many of them prisoners, which would prevent them both from burning the country and from being able to inform the king that they had seen his army. Cyrus, thinking this proposal for his service, ordered him to take a detachment out of every troop belonging to the several commanders.

Orontas, presuming the horse were ready, wrote a letter to the king, acquainting him that he should come to him with as many horse as he could get, and desiring him to give orders at the same time to his own horse that they should receive him as a friend; reminding him also of his former friendship and fidelity. This letter he gave to a trusty person, as he thought, who, as soon as he had received it, delivered it to Cyrus: who immediately commanded Orontas to be apprehended, and caused seven of the most considerable Persians about him to assemble in his tent; and at the same time, on giving orders to the Greek generals for bringing their heavy-armed men, and place them round his tent, with their arms in their hands, they obeyed his commands, and brought with them about three thousand heavy-armed men. He also called Clearchus to the council, as a man whom both he and the rest looked on to be of the greatest dignity among the Greeks. When he came out, he gave his friends an account of the trial of Orontas (for secrecy was not enjoined), and of the speech which Cyrus made, as follows:

“ Friends! I have called you hither to the end that I may consider with you of what is most just both in the sight of gods and men, and accordingly pl

ceed against this criminal Orontas. In the first place, my father appointed this man to be my subject; afterward, by the command, as he says, of my brother, he made war on me, being then in possession of the citadel of Sardis: this war I prosecuted in such a manner as to dispose him to desire an end of it, and I received his hand, and gave him mine. Since that time, say, Orontas, have I done you any injury?" To which he answered, "None." Cyrus again asked him, "Did not you afterward, without any provocation from me, as you yourself own, revolt to the Mysians, and lay waste my country to the utmost of your power?" Orontas owned it. "After that," continued Cyrus, "when you again became sensible of your want of power, did not you fly to the altar of Diana, profess repentance, and, having prevailed with me, give me again your faith, and received mine?" This also Orontas confessed. "What injury, then," says Cyrus, "have I done you, that you should now for the third time be found endeavouring to betray me?" Orontas saying that he was not provoked to it by any injury, Cyrus continued, "You own, then, you have wronged me?" "I am under a necessity of owning it," replied Orontas: On which Cyrus asked him again, "Can you yet be an enemy to my brother and a friend to me?" "Though I should," says Orontas, "O Cyrus, you will never think me so!"

Hereon Cyrus said to those who were present, "Such are the actions of this man, and such his words;" at the same time desiring the opinion of Clearchus, who delivered it as follows: "My advice is, that this man be forthwith put to death, to the end that we may no longer be under a necessity of guarding against his practices, but have leisure, being freed from him, to do good to those who desire to be our friends." After which, on declaring the rest were unanimous in this advice, they all rose up, and, either with his relations, by order of Cyrus, laid

hold on Orontas's girdle, as a token that he was condemned; and he was instantly led out by the officers; when, although in that dishonourable situation, they who used to prostrate themselves before him even then paid him the same veneration,<sup>1</sup> though they knew he was going to die. He was carried into the tent of Artapates, who was in the greatest trust with Cyrus of any of his sceptre-bearers; from which time no one ever saw Orontas either alive or dead, nor could any one with certainty relate how he was put to death, though various conjectures were made about it; neither was it ever known that any monument was erected to his memory.

VII. Cyrus next proceeded through the country of Babylon, and after completing twelve parasangs in three days' march, reviewed his forces, both Greeks and Barbarians, in a plain, about midnight (expecting the king would appear the next morning at the head of his army, ready to give him battle), giving the command of the right wing to Clearchus, and that of the left to Menon the Thessalian, while he himself drew up his own men. After the review, and as soon as the day appeared, there came deserters from the great king, bringing an account of his army to Cyrus, who thereon called together the generals and captains of the Greeks, and advised with them concerning the order of battle; at the same time encouraging them by the following persuasions: "O Greeks! it is not from any want of Barbarians that I make use of you

<sup>1</sup> Hence it appears that this custom of adoration was not only used by subjects to the kings of Persia, but by subjects of an inferior degree to those of a superior. We have the whole ceremonial in Herodotus. If two Persians of equal degree met, says he, they kissed one another's mouths; if one of them is something inferior to the other, he kisses his cheek; if much inferior, he falls down and adores him. When Alexander, intoxicated with success, endeavoured to prevail with the Macedonians to imitate the conquered Persians in their servility, Calisthenes opposed him to his face, with a spirit becoming both a Greek and a philosopher. By what he says to Alexander on that occasion, we find that Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, was the first of all mankind to whom adoration was paid, which from thence was looked on as a duty from the Medes and Persians to his successors.



as my auxiliaries, but because I look on you as superior to great numbers of them; for that reason I have taken you also into my service: show yourselves, therefore, worthy of that liberty you enjoy, in the possession of which I think you extremely happy; for be assured<sup>1</sup> that I would prefer liberty before all things I possess, with the addition of many others. But that you may understand what kind of combat you are going to engage in, I shall explain it to you. Their numbers are great, and they come on with mighty shouts, which if you can withstand, for the rest I am almost ashamed to think what kind of men you will find our country produces. But you are soldiers; behave yourselves with bravery; and if any one of you desire to return home, I will take care to send you back the envy of your country; but I am confident that my behaviour will engage many of you rather to follow my fortunes than return home."

Gaulites, a banished Samian, a man of fidelity to Cyrus, being present, spoke thus: "It is said by some, O Cyrus! that you promise many things now, because you are in such imminent danger, which, on any success, you will not remember; and by others, that though you should remember your promises, and desire to perform them, it will not be in your power." Cyrus then replied: "Friends, my paternal kingdom<sup>2</sup> to the south reaches as far as those climates that are uninhabitable through heat; and to the north, as far as those that are so through cold: every

<sup>1</sup> Cyrus with great judgment expresses himself with so much warmth on the subject of liberty, which he knew to be the reigning passion of the people to whom he addresses his discourse. Whether D'Ablancourt found any difficulty in this sentence, or whether he was afraid of offending the tender years of his monarch with the harshness of it, I know not; but so it is, that he has left out every syllable of this period.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch has given us the substance of a most magnificent letter, written by Cyrus to the Lacedæmonians, desiring their assistance against his brother: he there tells them, that "if the men they send him are foot, he will give them horses; if horsemen, chariots; if they have country-houses, he will give them villages; if villages, cities; and that they shall receive their pay by measure, and not by tale."

thing between is under the government of my brother's friends; and if we conquer, it becomes me to put you, who are my friends, in possession of it; so that I am under no apprehension, if we succeed, lest I should not have enough to bestow on each of my friends; I only fear lest I should not have friends enough on whom to bestow it: but to each of you Greeks, besides what I have mentioned, I promise a crown of gold." Hereon the officers espoused his cause with greater alacrity, and made their report to the rest; after which the Greek generals and some of the private men came to him to know what they had to expect if they were victorious; all whom he sent away big with hopes; and all who were admitted advised him not to engage personally, but to stand in the rear. Clearchus himself put this question to him: "Are you of opinion, O Cyrus! that your brother will hazard a battle?" "Certainly," answered Cyrus: "if he is the son of Darius and Parysatis, and my brother, I shall never obtain all this without a stroke."

While the soldiers were preparing themselves for the action, the number of the Greeks was found to amount to ten thousand four hundred heavy-armed men, and two thousand four hundred targeteers; and that of the Barbarians in the service of Cyrus to one hundred thousand men, with about twenty chariots armed with scythes. The enemy's army was said to consist of twelve hundred thousand men, and two hundred chariots armed with scythes, besides six thousand horse, under the command of Artagerses; all which were drawn up before the king, whose army was commanded by four generals, commanders and leaders, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces, who had each the command of three hundred thousand men: but of this number nine hundred thousand only were present at the battle, together with one hundred and fifty chariots armed with scythes; for Abrocomas, coming out of Phœnic

arrived five days after the action. This was the account the deserters gave to Cyrus before the battle, which was afterward confirmed by the prisoners. From thence Cyrus in one day's march made three parasangs, all his forces, both Greeks and Barbarians marching in order of battle; because he expected the king would fight that day; for, in the middle of their march there was a trench cut five fathoms broad and three deep, extending twelve parasangs and upwards, traversing the plain as far as the wall of Media. In this plain are four canals derived from the river Tigris, being each one hundred feet in breadth, and deep enough for barges laden with corn to sail in it: they fall into the Euphrates, and are distant from one another one parasang, having bridges over them.

The great king, hearing Cyrus was marching against him, immediately caused a trench to be made by way of fortification, near the Euphrates; close to which there was a narrow pass through which Cyrus and his army marched, and came within the trench; when finding the king did not engage that day, by the many tracks that appeared both of horses and men which retreated, he sent for Silanus the soothsayer of Ambracia, and, agreeable to his promise, gave him three thousand daricks, because the eleventh day before that, when he was offering sacrifice, he told Cyrus that the king would not fight within ten days; on which Cyrus said, "If he does not fight within that time he will not fight at all; and, if what you say proves true, I will give you ten<sup>1</sup> talents." Since, therefore, the king had suffered the army of Cyrus to march through this pass unmolested, both Cyrus and the rest concluded that he had given over all thoughts of fighting: so that the next day Cyrus marched with less circumspection; and the third day rode on his car, very few marching before him in their ranks; great part of the soldiers observed no

<sup>1</sup> By this it appears, as Hutchinson has observed, that three thousand daricks and ten talents were of equal value.— See note, page 43

order, many of their arms being carried in wagons, and on sumpter horses.

VIII. It was now about the time of day when the market is usually crowded, the army being near the place where they proposed to encamp, when Patagyas a Persian, one of those whom Cyrus most confided in, was seen riding towards them full speed, his horse all in a heat, and he calling to every one he met, both in his own language and in Greek, that the king was at hand with a vast army, marching in order of battle; which occasioned a general confusion among the Greeks, all expecting he would charge them before they had put themselves in order: but Cyrus, leaping from his car, put on his corslet, then mounting his horse, took his javelins in his hand, ordered all the rest to arm, and every man to take his post: by virtue of which command they quickly formed themselves; Clearchus on the right wing close to the Euphrates, next to him Proxenus, and after him the rest: Menon and his men were posted on the left of the Greek army. Of the Barbarians a thousand Paphlagonian horse, with the Greek targeteers, stood next to Clearchus on the right: on the left Ariæus, Cyrus's lieutenant-general, was placed with the rest of the Barbarians: they had large corslets and cuirasses, and all of them helmets but Cyrus, who placed himself in the centre with six hundred horse, and stood ready for the charge with his head unarmed; in which manner, they say, it is also customary for the rest of the Persians to expose themselves in a day of action: all the horses in Cyrus's army had both frontlets and breastplates, and the horsemen Greek swords.

It was now the middle of the day, and no enemy was yet to be seen; but in the afternoon there appeared a dust like a white cloud, which not long after spread itself like a darkness over the plain! When they drew nearer the brazen armour flashed, and their ranks appeared, having on their left a body of horse

armed in white corslets (said to be commanded by Tissaphernes), and followed by those with Persian bucklers, besides heavy-armed men with wooden shields reaching down to their feet (said to be Egyptians), and other horse, and archers, all which marched according to their respective countries, each nation being drawn up in a solid oblong square; and before them were disposed, at a considerable distance from one another, chariots armed with scythes fixed aslant at the axletrees, with others under the body of the chariot pointing downwards, that so they might cut asunder every thing they encountered, by driving them among the ranks of the Greeks, to break them: but it now appeared that Cyrus was greatly mistaken when he exhorted the Greeks to withstand the shouts of the Barbarians; for they did not come on with shouts, but as silently and quietly as possible, and in an equal and slow march. • Here Cyrus, riding along the ranks with Pigres the interpreter and three or four others, commanded Clearchus to bring his men opposite to the centre of the enemy, because the king was there, saying, "If we break that, our work is done:" but Clearchus observing their centre, and understanding from Cyrus that the king was beyond the left wing of the Greek army (for the king was so much superior in number, that when he stood in the centre of his own army he was beyond the left wing of Cyrus), Clearchus, I say, would not, however, be prevailed on to withdraw his right from the river, fearing to be surrounded on both sides; but answered Cyrus he would take care all should go well.

Now the Barbarians came regularly on; and the Greek army standing on the same ground, the ranks were formed as the men came up: in the mean time Cyrus, riding at a small distance before the ranks, surveying both the enemy's army and his own, was observed by Xenophon an Athenian, who rode up to him, and asked whether he had any thing to com-

mand; Cyrus, stopping his horse, ordered him to let them all know that the sacrifices and victims promise success.

While he was saying this, on hearing a noise running through the ranks, he asked him what it meant. Xenophon answered that the word was now giving for the second time: Cyrus, wondering who should give it, asked him what the word was: the other replied, "Jupiter the preserver, and victory." Cyrus replied, "I accept it; let that be the word;" after which he immediately returned to his post; and the two armies being now within three or four stadia of each other, the Greeks sung the pæan, and began to advance against the enemy; but the motion occasioning a small fluctuation in the line of battle, those who were left behind hastened their march, and at once gave a general shout, as their custom is when they invoke the god of war, and all ran forward, striking their shields with their pikes, as some say, to frighten the enemy's horses; so that before the Barbarians came within reach of their darts they turned their horses and fled; but the Greeks pursued them as fast as they could, calling out to one another not to run, but to follow in their ranks: some of the chariots were borne through their own people without their charioteers, others through the Greeks, some of whom, seeing them coming, divided; while others being amazed, like spectators in the hippodrome, were taken unawares; but even these were reported to have received no harm; neither was there any other Greek hurt in the action, except one on the left wing, who was said to have been wounded by an arrow.

Cyrus, seeing the Greeks victorious on their side, rejoicing, pursued the enemy, and was already worshipped as king by those about him: however, he was not so far transported as to leave his post and join in the pursuit: but keeping his six hundred horse in a body, observed the king's motions, well knowing that he was in the centre of the Persian

army; for in all Barbarian<sup>1</sup> armies the generals ever place themselves in the centre, looking on that post as the safest on each side of which their strength is equally divided; and if they have occasion to give out any orders, they are received in half the time by the army. The king, therefore, being at that time in the centre of his own battle, was, however, beyond the left wing of Cyrus; and when he saw none opposed him in front, nor any motion made to charge the troops that were drawn up before him, he wheeled to the left in order to surround their army; whereon Cyrus, fearing he should get behind him, and cut off the Greeks, advanced against the king, and charging with his six hundred horse, broke those who were drawn up before him, put the six thousand men to flight, and, as they say, killed Artagerses their commander with his own hand.

These being broken, and the six hundred belonging to Cyrus dispersed in the pursuit, very few were left about him, and those almost all persons who used to eat at his table: however, on discovering the king<sup>2</sup> properly attended, and unable to contain himself, immediately cried out, "I see the man!" then ran furiously at him, and striking him on the breast, wounded him through his corslet (as Ctesias the physician says, who affirms that he cured the wound), having, while he was giving the blow, received a wound under the eye, from somebody, who threw a javelin at him with great force; at the same time

<sup>1</sup> Thus Arrian tells us that Darius placed himself in the centre of his army at the battle of Issus, according to the custom of the kings of Persia, the reason of which custom, he says, Xenophon assigns in the passage now before us.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot help translating a very fine passage in Plutarch, in his life of Artaxerxes, where he excuses himself for not entering into the detail of this battle, because Xenophon had already described it in so masterly style, that he thinks it folly to attempt it after him: he says, that many authors have given an account of this memorable action, but that Xenophon almost shows it, and, by the clearness of his expression, makes the reader assist with emotion at every incident, and partake of every joy, as if the action was not past but present."

the king and Cyrus engaged hand to hand, and those about them in defence of each. In this action Ctesias, who was with the king, informs us how many fell on his side; on the other, Cyrus himself was killed, and eight of his most serviceable friends lay dead on him. When Artapates, who was in the greatest trust with Cyrus of any of his sceptred ministers, saw him fall, they say, he leaped from his horse, and threw himself about him; when, as some say, the king ordered him to be slain on the body of Cyrus; though others assert, that drawing his scimitar, he slew himself; for he wore a golden scimitar, a chain, bracelets, and other ornaments which are worn by the most considerable Persians; and was held in great esteem by Cyrus, both for his affection and fidelity.

IX. Thus died Cyrus: a man universally acknowledged by those who were well acquainted with him, to have been, of all the Persians since the ancient Cyrus, endued with the most princely qualities, and the most worthy of empire. First, while he was yet a child, and educated with his brother and other children, he was looked on as superior to them all in all things; for all the children of the great men in Persia are brought up at court, where they have an opportunity of learning great modesty, and where nothing immodest is ever heard or seen. There the children have constantly before their eyes those who are honoured and disgraced by the king, and hear the reasons of both; so that while they are children they presently learn to command as well as to obey. Cyrus was observed to have more docility than any of his years, and to show more submission to those of an advanced age than any other children, though of a condition inferior to his own. He was also observed to excel not only in his love of horses, but in his management of them; and in those exercises that relate to war, such as archery and lancing of darts, they found him the most desirous to learn and the



most indefatigable. When in the flower of his age, he was of all others the fondest of hunting, and in hunting, of danger: and once when a bear rushed on him, he did not decline the encounter, but closed with her, and was torn from his horse, when he received those wounds of which he ever wore the scars; at last he killed the bear, and the person that ran to his assistance he made a happy man in the eyes of all that knew him.

When he was sent by his father governor of Lydia, the greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and was declared general of all those who are obliged to assemble in the plain of Castolus, the first thing he did was to show, that if he entered into a league, engaged in a contract, or made a promise, his greatest care was never to deceive; for which reason, both the cities that belonged to his government, and private men, placed a confidence in him. And if any one had been his enemy, and Cyrus had made peace with him, he was under no apprehension of suffering by a violation of it. So that when he made war against Tissaphernes, all the cities, besides Miletus, willingly declared for him; and these were afraid of him, because he never deserted their banished citizens; for he showed by his actions, as well as his words, that after he had once given them assurance of his friendship he would never abandon them, though their number should still diminish, and their condition be impaired. It was evident that he made it his endeavour to outdo his friends in good, and his enemies in ill offices; and it was reported, that he wished to live so long as to be able to overcome them both, in returning both. There was no one man, therefore, of our time to whom such numbers of people were ambitious of delivering up their fortunes, their cities, and their persons.

Neither can it be said that he suffered malefactors and robbers to triumph; for to these he was of all men the most inexorable. It was no uncommon

thing to see such men in the great roads deprived of their feet, hands, and eyes; so that any person, whether Greek or Barbarian, might travel where he pleased, and with whatsoever he pleased, through the country under his command, and, provided he did no injury, be sure of receiving none. It is universally acknowledged that he honoured, in a particular manner, those who distinguished themselves in arms. His first expedition was against the Pisidians and Mysians, which he commanded in person; and those whom he observed forward to expose themselves he appointed governors over the conquered countries, and distinguished them by other presents; so that brave men were looked on as most fortunate, and cowards as deserving to be their slaves; for which reason great numbers presented themselves to danger, where they expected Cyrus would take notice of them.

As for justice, if any person was remarkable for a particular regard to it, his chief care was that such a one should enjoy a greater affluence than those who aimed at raising their fortunes by unjust means. Among many other instances, therefore, of the justice of his administration, this was one—that he had an army which truly deserved that name; for the officers did not come to him from countries on the other side of the sea for gain, but because they were sensible that a ready obedience to Cyrus's commands was of greater advantage to them than their monthly pay; and indeed if any one was punctual in the execution of his orders, he never suffered his diligence to go unrewarded; for which reason it is said that Cyrus was the best served of any prince in all his enterprises. If he observed any governor of a province joining the most exact economy with justice, improving his country, and increasing his revenue, he never took any share of these advantages to himself, but added more to them; so that they laboured with cheerfulness, enriched themselves with

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confidence, and never concealed their possessions from Cyrus, who was never known to envy those who owned themselves to be rich; but endeavoured to make use of the riches of all who concealed them. It is universally acknowledged that he possessed in an eminent degree the art of cultivating those of his friends whose good-will to him he was assured of, and whom he looked on as proper instruments to assist him in accomplishing any thing he proposed; as an acknowledgment for which, he endeavoured to show himself a most powerful assistant to them in every thing he found they desired.

As, on many accounts, he received in my opinion more presents than any one man, so, of all men living, he distributed them to his friends with the greatest generosity, and in this distribution consulted both the taste and the wants of every one. And as for those ornaments of his person that were presented to him, either as of use in war, or embellishments to dress, he is said to have expressed his sense of them, that it was not possible for him to wear them all, but that he looked on a prince's friends, when richly dressed, as his greatest ornament. However, it is not so much to be wondered at, that being of greater ability than his friends, he should outdo them in the magnificence of his favours; but that he should surpass them in his care and his earnestness to oblige is, in my opinion, more worthy of admiration. He frequently sent his friends small vessels, half full of wine, when he received any that was remarkably good, letting them know that he had not for a long time tasted any that was more delicious; besides which, he also frequently sent them half-geese and half-loaves, &c. ordering the person who carried them to say, "Cyrus liked these things; for which reason he desires you also to taste of them." Where forage was very scarce, and he, by the number and care of his servants, had an opportunity of being supplied with it, he sent to his friends, desiring

They would give the horses that were for their own riding their share of it, to the end they might not be oppressed with hunger when they carried his friends. When he appeared in public on any occasion, where he knew many people would have their eyes on him, he used to call his friends to him, and affected to discourse<sup>1</sup> earnestly with them, that he might show whom he honoured. So that by all I have heard, no man, either of the Greeks or Barbarians, ever deserved more esteem from his subjects. This, among others, is a remarkable instance: no one ever deserted from Cyrus, though a subject, to the king. Orontas alone attempted it; yet he soon found that the person on whose fidelity he depended was more a friend to Cyrus than to him. Many who had been most in favour with Cyrus came over to him from the king after the war broke out between them, with this expectation, that in the service of Cyrus their merit would be more worthily rewarded than in that of the king. What happened also to him at his death made it evident that he was not only himself a good man, but that he knew how to make choice of those who were faithful, affectionate, and constant: even when he was killed, all his friends and his favourites<sup>2</sup> died fighting for him, except Ariæus, who, being appointed

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson has rendered this *gravibus de rebus sermonem habebat* which is, no doubt, the general sense of the Greek word, but does not, in my opinion, explain that which our author has given it in this place. The subject of the discourse between Cyrus and his friends was of little consequence to let the spectators know how much he honoured them; his manner of conversing with them could only do it; and, as *σπουδή* signifies earnestness in the manner of speaking, as well as the seriousness of the subject, I thought proper to give it that sense in the translation. This puts me in mind of a practice of some persons of quality in Scotland, when King Charles the First made a progress thither: my Lord Clarendon says, that in order to render themselves considerable in the eyes of their countrymen, they used to whisper the king when he appeared in public, though the subject of those whispers was often of very little consequence. I have known some men of gallantry so happy in this practice, that, on no other foundation than the art of whispering trifles, they have been thought to be well with women of distinction; which possibly was all they aimed at.

<sup>2</sup> Properly, those who ate at his table.

to the command of the horse on the left wing, as soon as he heard that Cyrus was killed, fled with all that body which was under his command.

X. When Cyrus was dead, his head and right hand were cut off on the spot, and the king, with his men in the pursuit, broke into his camp; while those with Ariæus no longer made a stand, but fled through their own camp to their former post, which was said to be four parasangs from the field of battle. The king, with his forces, among many other things, took Cyrus's mistress, a Phocæan,<sup>1</sup> who was said to be a woman of great sense and beauty. The other, a Milesian, who was the younger of the two, was also taken by the king's troops, but escaped naked to the quarter of the Greeks, who were left to guard the baggage. These, forming themselves, killed many of those who were plundering the camp, and lost some of their own men: they did not however fly, but

<sup>1</sup> As this favourite mistress of Cyrus was afterward very near being the cause of a revolution in the Persian empire, it may not be amiss to give some account of her. She was of Phocæa in Ionia, the mother-city of Marseilles, and the daughter of Hermotymus, her name Milto; she was mistress of so much wit and beauty that Cyrus, who was very fond of her, called her *Aspasia*, from *Aspasia* the mistress of the great Pericles, who was so much celebrated for those accomplishments. After the death of Cyrus she was in the same degree of favour with his brother Artaxerxes, whose eldest son Darius had so unfortunate a passion for her, that on being declared by his father successor to the crown, when, it seems, it was customary for the successor to ask some favour of the king, which was never refused if possible to be granted, he demanded *Aspasia*. The king, though besides his wife *Atossa* he had three hundred and sixty ladies in his seraglio, yet was unwilling to part with *Aspasia*, though she was now far from being young; so told his son that she was mistress of herself, and if she consented to be his, he should not oppose it. This caution was unnecessary, for *Aspasia* declared in favour of the son, which so displeased Artaxerxes, that though he was under a necessity of yielding her to Darius, yet he shortly after took her from him, and made her a priestess of *Diana*. This exasperated Darius to that degree, that he conspired with *Teribazus* to put his father to death; but his design, being discovered, ended in his own destruction. After this short account of *Aspasia's* adventures, I believe the reader will smile to find her called *la belle* and *la sage* by *D'Abancourt*. She was the occasion of so much mischief, that I am persuaded even the Persian ladies could not refuse her the first of these qualities: but there is little room to call her chaste, for that is the sense of the word *sage* in the language when applied to a woman.

saved the Milesian, with the men and effects, and in general every thing else that was in their quarter. The king and the Greeks were now at the distance of thirty stadia from one another, but pursuing the enemy that were opposite to them, as if they had gained a complete victory; and the king's troops plundering the camp of the Greeks, as if they also had been every where victorious. But when the Greeks were informed that the king with his men were among their baggage, and the king, on his side, heard from Tissaphernes that the Greeks had put those before them to flight, and were gone forward in the pursuit, he then rallied his forces, and put them in order. On the other side, Clearchus consulted with Proxenus, who was nearest to him, whether they should send a detachment, or should all march to relieve the camp.

In the mean time, the king was observed to move forward again, and seemed resolved to fall on their rear: on which the Greeks faced about, and put themselves in a posture to march that way and receive him. However, the king did not advance that way; but, as before, passed beyond their left wing, led his men back the same way, taking along with him those who had deserted to the Greeks during the action, and also Tissaphernes with his forces; for Tissaphernes did not fly at the first onset, but penetrated with his horse where the Greek targeteers were posted, quite as far as the river. However, in breaking through, he killed none of their men; but the Greeks, dividing, wounded his people both with their swords and darts. Episthenes of Amphipolis commanded the targeteers, and is reported to have shown great conduct on this occasion. Tissaphernes, therefore, as sensible of his disadvantage, departed, when coming to the camp of the Greeks he found the king there, and reuniting the forces, they advanced, and presently came opposite to the left of the Greeks, who being afraid th

should attack their wing, by wheeling to the right and left, and annoy them on both sides, resolved to open that wing, and cover the rear with the river. While they were consulting on this the king marched by them, and drew up his army opposite to theirs, in the same order in which he first engaged: on which the Greeks, seeing they drew near in order of battle, again sung the pæan, and went on with much more alacrity than before; but the Barbarians did not stay to receive them, having fled sooner than the first time to a village, where they were pursued by the Greeks, who halted there; for there was an eminence above the village, on which the king's forces faced about. He had no foot with him; but the hill was covered with horse in such a manner that it was not possible for the Greeks to see what was doing. However, they said they saw the royal ensign there, which was a golden eagle with its wings extended, resting on a spear. When the Greeks advanced towards them the horse quitted the hill, not in a body, but some running one way and some another. However, the hill was cleared of them by degrees, and at last they all left it. Clearchus did not march up the hill with his men, but halting at the foot of it, sent Lycius the Syracusan, and another, with orders to reconnoitre the place, and make their report. Lycius rode up the hill, and having viewed it, brought word that the enemy fled in all haste. On this the Greeks halted, it being near sunset, and lying under their arms, rested themselves; in the mean time, wondering that neither Cyrus appeared, nor any one from him, not knowing he was dead, but imagined that he was either led away by the pursuit, or had rode forward to possess himself of some post: however, they consulted among themselves, whether they should stay where they were, and send for their baggage, or return to their camp. The latter they resolved on, and arriving at their tents about supper-time, found the greatest part of their baggage plun-

dered, with all the provisions, besides the carriages, which, as it was said, amounted to four hundred, full of flour and wine, which Cyrus had prepared, in order to distribute them among the Greeks, lest at any time his army should labour under the want of necessaries; but they were all so rified by the king's troops, that the greatest part of the Greeks had no supper, neither had they eaten any dinner; for before the army could halt in order to dine the king appeared. And in this manner they passed the night.

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## BOOK II.

CHAP. I. IN the foregoing book we have shown by what means Cyrus raised an army of the Greeks when he marched against his brother Artaxerxes; what was performed during his march, and in what manner the battle was fought; how Cyrus was killed; and the Greeks, thinking they had gained a complete victory, and that Cyrus was alive, returned to their camp and betook themselves to rest. As soon as the day approached, the generals, being assembled, wondered that Cyrus neither sent them any orders nor appeared himself; resolved, therefore, to collect what was left of their baggage, and armed themselves to move forward in order to join Cyrus; but just as they were on the point of marching, and as soon as the sun was risen, Procles, who was governor of Teuthrania, a descendant from Damaratus the Lacedæmonian, and Glus the son of Tamos came to them, and declared that Cyrus was dead, and that Ariæus had left the field, and was retired with the rest of the Barbarians to the camp they had left the day before, where he said he would stay for them that day, if they thought fit to come; but that the



next he should return to Ionia, whence he came. The generals and the rest of the Greeks hearing this, were greatly afflicted: and Clearchus with astonishment said, "Would to God Cyrus was alive! but since he is dead let Ariæus know that we have overcome the king, and, as you see, meet with no further resistance, and that if you had not come we had marched against the king; at the same time assure Ariæus from us, that if he will come hither we will place him on the throne: for those who gain the victory gain with it a right to command." After he had said this he directly sent back the messengers together with Chrisophus the Lacedæmonian, and Menon the Thessalian; for Menon himself desired it, he being a friend to Ariæus, and engaged to him by an intercourse of hospitality. Clearchus staid till they returned, procuring provisions as well as he could, by killing the oxen and asses that belonged to the baggage; and instead of other wood made use of the arrows which they found in great quantities in the field of battle, not far from the place where their army lay, and which the Greeks obliged the deserters to pull out of the ground, and also of the Persian bucklers and the Egyptian shields that were made of wood, besides a great many targets and empty wagons; with all which they dressed their victuals, and in this manner supported themselves that day.

It was now about the time the market was generally full, when the heralds arrived with the message from the king and Tissaphernes, all of whom were Barbarians (except Phalinus, who was a Greek, and happened then to be with Tissaphernes, by whom he was much esteemed; for he pretended to understand tactics and the exercise of arms<sup>1</sup>), who, after

<sup>1</sup> It is very certain the Romans imitated the Greeks both in civil and military affairs; but I believe the gladiatorial spectacles were in use in Rome before they were heard of in Greece; the origin of which seems to have been the early custom in use among most nations of sacrificing captives to the manes of great generals who were slain in war. Thus Achilles sacrifices twelve Trojans to the manes of Patroclus; and Æneas

assembling together the Greek commanders, said, that the king, since he had gained the victory, and killed Cyrus, ordered the Greeks to deliver up their arms, and repairing to court endeavour to obtain some favourable terms from the king. The Greeks received this with much indignation: however, Clearchus said no more to them than that "It was not the part of conquerors to deliver up their arms; but," addressing himself to the generals, "do you make the best and most becoming answer you can, and I will return immediately:" he being called out by one of his servants to inspect the entrails of the victim which he was then offering up in sacrifice. On which Cleanor the Arcadian, the oldest person present, made answer, "They would sooner die than deliver up their arms." Then Proxenus the Theban said, "I wonder, O Phalinus! whether the king demands our arms as a conqueror, or as a friend desires them by way of present. If as a conqueror, what occasion has he to demand them? Why does he not rather come and take them? If he would persuade us to deliver them, say, what are the soldiers to expect in return for so great an obligation?" Phalinus answered, "The king looks on himself as conqueror, since he has killed Cyrus; for who is now his rival in the empire? He looks on you also as his property, since he has you in the middle of his country, surrounded by impassable rivers; and can bring such numbers of men against you, that though he delivered them up to you, your strength would fail you before you could put them all to death."

After him Xenophon an Athenian said, "You see,

- sends captives to Evander to be sacrificed at the funeral of his son Pallas. Valerius Maximus says that M. and D. Brutus, in the consulship of Appius Claudius and M. Fulvius, honoured the funeral of their father with a gladiatorial spectacle, which from that time became frequent on occasions; but this was many years after the time our author speaks when I am convinced the Greeks had never heard of these spectacles. The reason is, that whenever any Greek author of or near the age X lived in, speaks of *δπλομαχοι*, I dare say they always understand appointed to teach military exercises.

O Phalinus! that we have nothing now to depend on but our arms and our courage; and while we are masters of our arms we think we can make use of our courage also; but that when we deliver up these we deliver up our persons too: do not therefore expect we shall deliver up the only advantages we possess: on the contrary, be assured that with these we are resolved to fight with you, even for those you are in possession of." Phalinus, hearing this, smiled, and said, "Young man, indeed you seem to be a philosopher, and speak handsomely; but believe me you are mistaken if you imagine that your courage will prevail over the power of the king." However, it was reported that others, whose resolution began to fail, said, that as they had been true to Cyrus they would also be of great service to the king, if he were disposed to be their friend; and that whatever commands he had for them they would obey him; and if he proposed to invade Egypt, they would assist him in the conquest of it. In the mean time Clearchus returned, and asked if they had already given their answer. To whom Phalinus said, "These men, O Clearchus! say one, one thing, and another, another; but pray let us have your thoughts." To which he replied, "I rejoice, O Phalinus! to see you, as I am persuaded all these do who are present; for you are a Greek as well as we whom you see before you in so great numbers; for which reason, in our present circumstances, we desire you to advise us what we ought to do with regard to the proposals you bring; and entreat you, by all the gods, give us that advice which you think best and most becoming, and which will do you most honour in the eyes of posterity, when it shall be said that Phalinus, being sent by the king with orders to the Greeks that they should deliver up their arms, and being consulted by them, gave them this advice: for you are sensible that your advice, whatever it is, must be reported in Greece." Clearchus insinuated this with a view of

engaging the king's ambassador himself to advise them not to deliver up their arms, that by this means the Greeks might entertain better hopes: but Phalinus artfully avoided the snare, and, contrary to his expectation, spoke as follows:

“If you had the least hope of a thousand to preserve yourselves by making war against the king, I should advise you not to deliver up your arms; but if you cannot hope for safety without his concurrence, I advise you to preserve yourselves by the only means you can.” Clearchus replied, “This I find is your sense of the matter; and this answer you are desired to return from us—that we think, if it is proposed we should be friends to the king, we shall be more valuable friends by preserving our arms than by parting with them; and that, if we are to go to war with him, we shall make war with greater advantage by keeping our arms than by delivering them up.” Phalinus said, “I shall report this answer. However, the king ordered me also to let you know that if you stay where you are you will have peace; but if you advance or march back you must expect war. Let me have your answer also to this; and whether I shall acquaint the king that you will stay here and accept of peace, or that you declare for war.” Clearchus replied, “Let the king know, that in this we are of the same opinion with him.” “What is that?” said Phalinus. Clearchus answered, “If we stay, there may be peace; but if we march back or advance, war.” Phalinus again asked, “Shall I report peace or war?” Clearchus replied, “Peace, if we stay; and if we march back or advance, war;” but did not declare what he proposed to do. So Phalinus and those with him went away.

II. In the mean time Procles and Chirisophus came from Ariæus, leaving Menon with him, and brought word that Ariæus said, “There were many Persians of greater consideration than himself, who would never suffer him to be their king; but desi

if you propose marching away with him, that you will come to him to-night; if not, he says he will depart the next morning early." Clearchus answered, "What you advise is very proper, if we join him; if not, do whatever you think expedient to your advantage;" for he would not acquaint even these with his purpose. After this, when it was sunset, he assembled the generals and captains, and spoke to them as follows: "Friends! I have consulted the gods by sacrifice, concerning marching against the king; and the victims, with great reason, forbid it; for I am now informed that between us and the king lies the Tigris, a navigable river, which we cannot pass without boats, and these we have not; neither is it possible for us to stay here, for we are without provisions. But the victims were very favourable to the design of joining Cyrus's friends. The order, therefore, we ought to pursue is this: let every man retire, and sup on what he has, and when the horn sounds to rest, pack up your baggage; when it sounds a second time, load the sumpter horses; and when a third, follow your leader, and let the baggage march next to the river, and the heavy-armed men cover it." The generals and captains, hearing this, departed, and did as they were directed; Clearchus having taken on him the command of the army, who submitted to him, not as having elected him to that employment, but because they were sensible that he alone was equal to the command, the rest being without experience. They had made from Ephesus, a city of Ionia, to the field of battle, ninety-three marches, which amounted to five hundred and thirty-five parasangs, or sixteen thousand and fifty stadia;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here must be some mistake, probably by the transcriber, though Xenophon says, on report only, that there were three thousand and sixty stadia from the field of battle to Babylon. However, Plutarch seems to come much nearer the truth when he says there were but five hundred; for, if the reader will compute the distances mentioned by our author from Thapsacus, where Cyrus passed the Euphrates, to the field of battle, he will find that they amounted to no less than four thousand six hun-

and from the field of battle to Babylon it was computed there were three thousand and sixty stadia.

After this, as soon as it was dark, Miltocythes the Thracian, with his horse, being forty in number, and three hundred Thracian foot, deserted to the king. Clearchus, in the manner he had appointed, led the rest, and about midnight arrived at their first camp, where they found Ariæus with his army; and the men being drawn up and standing to their arms, the generals and captains of the Greeks went in a body to Ariæus, and both they and he, with the most considerable men about him, took an oath not to betray one another, and to become allies. The Barbarians also swore that they would conduct them without deceit. This was the substance of the oath, which was preceded by the sacrifice of a boar,<sup>1</sup> a bull, a wolf, and a ram, whose blood being all mixed together in the hollow of a shield, the Greeks dipped a sword therein, and the Barbarians a spear. When they had pledged their faith, Clearchus said, "Since, O Ariæus! your route and ours are the same, say, what is your opinion concerning our march? Shall we return the same way we came, or have you thought of any other more convenient?" Ariæus answered, "If we return the same way we came we shall all perish with hunger; since we are now entirely destitute of

dred and fifty stadia. Now the ancient geographers allow no more than four thousand eight hundred from Thapsacus to Babylon, in following the course of the Euphrates, which we find was the route the army took; so that there will in that case remain no more than one hundred and fifty stadia from the field of battle to Babylon; which is so vastly short of the distance mentioned by Xenophon, that the difference seems to be rather owing to a fault in the transcriber than to a mistake in those from whom Xenophon received his information. I am surprised none of the translators have thought fit to take notice of this passage.

<sup>1</sup> The custom of giving a sanction to solemn leagues and treaties by the sacrifice of particular animals is very ancient; thus the agreement between the Greeks and Trojans, and the single combat of Paris and Menelaus, which was consequent to it, was preceded by the sacrifice of three lambs; one to the Earth, another to the Sun, and a third to Jupiter. The blood of the victims was often mixed with wine, and sometimes received in a vessel, in which the contracting parties dipped their arms, as Herodotus informs us was practised by the Scythians.

provisions ; for during the last seventeen days' march we could supply ourselves with nothing out of the country, even in our way hither ; and whatever was found there we have consumed in our passage ; so that though the way we now propose to take is longer, yet we shall be in no want of provisions. We must make our first marches as long as we can, to the end we may get as far as possible from the king's army : for if we can once gain two or three days' march of him, it will not after that be in his power to overtake us ; since with a small army he will not dare to follow us, and with a great one he will not be able to make quick marches : it is also probable he may want provisions. This is my opinion."

This scheme for the march of the army was calculated for nothing but a retreat or a flight ; but fortune proved a more glorious conductor. As soon, therefore, as it was day they began their march, with the sun on their right, expecting to arrive by sunset at some village that lay in the country of Babylon ; and in this they were not mistaken. But in the afternoon they thought they saw the enemy's horse ; on which not only the Greeks who happened to have left their ranks ran to them in all haste, but Ariæus also alighting,—for, being wounded, he was carried in a chariot,—put on his corslet, as did all those about him. But while they were arming, the scouts who had been sent out brought word that they were not horse, but only sumpter horses at pasture ; for which reason every one presently concluded that the king's camp was not far off : for a smoke also appeared in the neighbouring villages. However, Clearchus did not lead them against the enemy, for he knew the men were tired, and had eaten nothing all day ; besides, it was late ; neither did he march out of the way, avoiding the appearance of a flight ; but leading them directly forward, at sunset he quartered with the vanguard in the villages nearest to him, out of which the king's army had carried away even the

timber that belonged to the houses. Those who arrived first encamped with some kind of uniformity; but the others who followed, coming up when it was dark, quartered as they could, and made so great a noise in calling out to one another that the enemy heard them, of whom those who lay nearest to the Greeks ran away, leaving even their tents; which being known the next day, no sumpter horses or camp appeared, neither was there any smoke to be seen in the neighbourhood; and the king himself it seems was struck at the approach of our army, by what he did the next day.

On the other side, the night advancing, the Greeks also were seized with fear, which was attended with a tumult and noise, usual in such cases; on this, Clearchus ordered Tolmides of Elis, the best crier of his time, whom he happened to have with him, to command silence, and make proclamation from the commanders, that whoever gave information of the person who had turned the ass into the quarter of the heavy-armed men should receive the reward of a silver talent. By this proclamation the soldiers understood that their fear was vain, and their commanders safe. At break of day, Clearchus ordered the Greeks to stand to their arms in the same disposition they had observed in the action.

III. What I said concerning the king's being terrified at our approach became then manifest; for, having sent to us the day before demanding our arms, he sent also heralds by sunrise to treat for a truce: when, coming to the out-guards, he inquired for the commanders. Clearchus, who was then viewing the ranks, ordered them to stay till he was at leisure; and as soon as he had drawn up the army with much elegance, the ranks being closed on all sides, and no unarmed men to be seen, sent for the messengers; came forward himself, attended by those of his soldiers who were the best armed and most graceful in their persons, desiring the rest of



the generals to do the like, and asked the messengers what they wanted? They replied, they were persons come to treat of a truce, being properly qualified to carry messages between the king and the Greeks. He answered, "Let the king know, that first we must fight: for we have nothing to dine on; and there is no man so hardy as to mention a truce to the Greeks unless he first provides them a dinner." The messengers then departed; but returning presently, by which it appeared that the king was near at hand, or some other person who was appointed to transact this matter, brought word, "the king thought their demand very reasonable," and that they had with them guides, who, if a truce were concluded, should conduct them to a place where they should find provisions. Clearchus then asked whether the king proposed to comprehend those only in the truce who went between him and them, or whether it should extend to all? They said, "To all, till the king is informed of your proposals:" on which Clearchus, ordering them to withdraw, immediately held a council, where it was resolved to conclude a truce, and to march peaceably to the place where the provisions were, and supply themselves. Clearchus said, "I join with you in this opinion: however, I will not directly acquaint the messengers with our resolution, but defer it till they are afraid we should reject the truce. I imagine that our soldiers also will lie under the same apprehension." Therefore, when he thought it time, he let them know that he would enter into a truce, and immediately ordered the guides to conduct them where they might get provisions.

Clearchus, on marching with his army in order of battle to conclude the truce, having himself taken charge of the rear, met with ditches and canals full of water, so that they were not able to pass without bridges, which they made with palm-trees, having found some lying on the ground, and others they cut

down. On this occasion it might be observed how equal Clearchus was to the command; for taking his pike in his left hand, and a staff<sup>1</sup> in his right, if he saw any of those he had appointed to this service backward in the execution of it, he displaced him, and substituted a proper person in his room, he himself at the same time going into the dirt and assisting them; so that every one was ashamed not to be active. He had appointed men of thirty years of age to this service; but when those of a more advanced age saw Clearchus forwarding the work in person, they gave their assistance also. Clearchus pressed it the more because he suspected the ditches were not always so full of water, for it was not the season to water the country, imagining the king had ordered the waters to be let out, with the view that the Greeks might foresee great difficulties attending their march.

At last coming to the villages where the guides told them they might supply themselves with provisions, they found plenty of corn, and wine made of the fruit of the palm-tree, and also vinegar drawn by boiling from the same fruit. Such as we have in Greece they give to their domestics; but those which are reserved for the masters are chosen fruit, and worthy of admiration both for their beauty and size, having in all respects the appearance of amber, and so delicious that they are frequently dried for sweetmeats. The wine that was made of it was sweet to the taste, but apt to give the headache. Here the soldiers ate for the first time the pith of the palm-

<sup>1</sup> The Lacedæmonian commanders carried a staff or stick (I am afraid of calling it a cane), possibly for the same purpose as the Roman centurions used a *vitis*, that is, to correct their soldiers. Thucydides gives one to Astyochus, the Lacedæmonian commander; and we find in Plutarch that Eurybiades, the Lacedæmonian admiral, and Themistocles, differing in opinion concerning the operations of their united fleet, the former, impatient of contradiction, held up his stick, threatening to strike Themistocles, who, instead of being diverted by this outrage from supporting his opinion, on which he knew the safety of all Greece depended, generously sacrificed his resentment for a private indignity to his zeal for the public good, and made him that memorable answer, 'Strike, if you will, but hear me.'

tree, many admiring both the figure and its peculiar sweetness, although it also occasioned violent headaches; but the palm-tree whence this pith was taken withered entirely. Here they staid three days; during which Tissaphernes, with the queen's brother and three other Persians, coming from the great king attended by many slaves, were met by the Greek generals, when Tissaphernes, by an interpreter, first spoke in the following manner:

“I live, O Greeks! in the neighbourhood of Greece; and seeing you involved in many insuperable difficulties, looked on it as a piece of good fortune that I could request the king to allow me to conduct you safe into Greece; for I imagine I shall find no want of gratitude either in you or in the whole Greek nation; on which consideration I made my request to the king, alleging that I had a title to this favour, because I was the first person who informed him that Cyrus was marching against him, and together with this information brought an army to his assistance: and also because I was the only commander in that part of the army opposite to the Greeks who did not fly, but broke through and joined the king in your camp, whither he came after he had killed Cyrus; and with these troops here present, who are most faithful to him, I pursued the Barbarians belonging to Cyrus. These things the king said he would take into consideration; but commanded me to ask you what motive induced you to make war on him? I advise you to answer with temper, that I may with the greater ease obtain some favour for you from the king.”

On this the Greeks withdrew, and having consulted together, Clearchus made answer: “We did not come together with a design of making war on the king, neither did we march against him: but Cyrus found many pretences, as you very well know, that he might take you unprepared, and lead us hither. However, when we saw him in difficulties, our respect

both to gods and men would not allow us to abandon him, especially since we had formerly allowed ourselves to receive obligations from him: but since Cyrus is dead, we neither contend with the king for his kingdom, nor have any reason to desire to infest his country: neither do we mean to destroy him, but to return home, provided no one molests us; but if any man offers an injury to us, we shall, with the assistance of the gods, endeavour to revenge it. And if any one confers a favour on us, we shall not, to the utmost of our power, be behindhand in returning it."

Tissaphernes, in answer to this, replied, "I shall acquaint the king, and immediately return with his sentiments; till then let the truce continue. In the mean time we will provide a market for you." The next day he did not return, which gave the Greeks some uneasiness; but the third day he came, and informed them, "That he had prevailed on the king to allow him to conduct them safe to Greece, though many opposed it, alleging that it was unbecoming the dignity of the king to suffer those to escape who had made war on him." He concluded thus: "And now you may rely on the assurance we give you, that we will effectually cause the country to treat you as friends, conduct you without guile into Greece, and provide a market for you: and whenever we do not provide one, we allow you to supply yourselves out of the country. On your side you must take an oath to us, that you will march as through a friend's country, without doing any damage to it, and only supply yourselves with meat and drink, when we do not provide a market for you; and when we do, that you will pay for what you want." This was agreed on, and Tissaphernes, with the queen's brother, took the oath, and gave their hands to the Greek generals and captains, and received those of the Greeks; after which Tissaphernes said, "I must now return to the king, and when I have despatched what is necessary,

I will come back to you with all things in readiness both to conduct you into Greece, and return myself to my own government."

IV. On which the Greeks and Ariæus, being encamped near to one another, waited for Tissaphernes above twenty days: during which the brothers and other relations of Ariæus came to him, and some of the Persians came to those who were with him, giving them encouragement, and assurances from the king that he would forget their taking up their arms against him in favour of Cyrus, and every thing else that was past. While these things were transacting, it was manifest that Ariæus and his people paid less regard to the Greeks; many of whom, therefore, being dissatisfied, came to Clearchus and to the rest of the generals, saying, "Why do we stay here? Do we not know that the king desires above all things to destroy us, to the end that all the rest of the Greeks may be deterred from making war against him? He now seduces us to stay, because his army is dispersed; which being reassembled, it is not to be imagined but that he will attack us: possibly also he may obstruct our march, either by digging a trench, or raising a wall in some convenient place, in such a manner as to render it impracticable: for he will never willingly suffer us to return to Greece, and publish that, being so few in number, we have defeated his army at the very gates of his palace, and returned in triumph."

Clearchus replied to those who alleged this: "I consider all these things as well as you; but I consider, at the same time, that if we now depart, it will be thought our intention is to declare war, and to act contrary to the terms of the truce; the consequence of which will be, that no one will provide a market for us, or a place where we may supply ourselves: besides, we shall have no guide to conduct us; and the moment we enter on these measures Ariæus will desert us; so that we shall presently have no friend

left, and even those who were so before will become our enemies. I do not know whether we have any other river to pass, but we all know that it is not possible for us to pass the Euphrates if the enemy oppose it. If we are obliged to fight, we have no horse to assist us, whereas those of the enemy are very numerous and very good; so that if we conquer, how many shall we be able to kill? and if we are conquered, none of us can possibly escape. Therefore I do not see why the king, who is possessed of so many advantages, should, if he desires to destroy us, think it necessary first to take an oath and pledge his faith, then to provoke the gods by perjury, and show both the Greeks and Barbarians how little that faith is to be relied on." He said a great deal more to the same purpose.

In the mean time, Tissaphernes arrived with his forces, as if he designed to return home, and with him Orontas also, with his men, and the king's daughter, whom he had married. From thence they began their march, Tissaphernes leading the way, and providing them with a market. Ariæus marched at the head of the Barbarians who had served under Cyrus, with Tissaphernes and Orontas, and encamped with them. The Greeks, being distrustful of these, marched by themselves, having guides to conduct them. Each of them always encamped separately at the distance of a parasang, or less, and were each on their guard against one another as against an enemy; and this immediately created a suspicion. Sometimes, while they were providing themselves with wood, forage, or other things of that nature, they came to blows; which also bred ill blood between them. After three days' march, they came to and passed through the wall of Media,<sup>1</sup> which was

<sup>1</sup> I am convinced, from these and several other passages, that employed raw bricks for many uses; otherwise it cannot well be stood why these two authors should lay so much stress on their being burnt. But this is not all: I am persuaded that the di given by Vitruvius and Palladius for making bricks relate cl

built with burnt bricks laid in bitumen; being twenty feet in thickness, one hundred in height, and, as it was said, twenty parasangs in length, and not far from Babylon.

From thence they made in two days' march eight parasangs, and passed two canals, one over a bridge, the other on seven pontoons. These canals were derived from the Tigris: from them ditches were cut that ran into the country; the first broad, then narrower, which at last ended in small watercourses, such as are used in Greece to water panic. Thence they came to the river Tigris, near which stood a large and populous city called Sitace, at the distance of fifteen stadia from the river; the Greeks encamped close to the town, near a large and beautiful park, thick with trees of every kind, and the Barbarians on the other side of the Tigris, but out of sight of our army. After supper Proxenus and Xenophon happened to be walking before the quarter where the heavy-armed men lay encamped, when a man came and asked the out-guards where he might speak with Proxenus or Clearchus; but did not inquire for Menon, though he came from Ariæus, with whom Menon lived in hospitality: and when Proxenus told him he was the person he inquired after, the man said, "Ariæus and Artæzus, who were faithful to Cyrus, and wish you well, sent me to advise you to stand on your guard, lest the Barbarians attack you

raw bricks, for they both direct the earth of which the bricks are made to be wrought up with straw. These directions are no doubt very proper where the bricks are not to be burned, because the straw holds the earth together; but if bricks made in this manner were to be burned, the consequence would be, that the straw being consumed in the fire, as many pieces of straw as there were in every brick, so many hollow places there would be in them. There is a passage in Pausanias, where he tells us, that Agesipolis, making an irruption into the country of Mantinea, turned the river Ophis, that ran near the town, against the wall, and by that means dissolved it: the reason he gives for it is, that it was built of raw brick. On this occasion he says, that raw bricks are better to resist battering engines than stones, because they are not so subject to break and fly out of their courses; but then he adds, that raw bricks are as easily dissolved by water as wax is by the sun.

to-night, there being numerous forces posted in the neighbouring park. They advise you also to send a detachment to guard the bridge over the Tigris, because Tissaphernes designs, if he can, to break it down to-night; to the end that you may not be able to pass the river, but be shut in between the Tigris and the canal." On which they carried him to Clearchus, and informed him of what he said; on which Clearchus was in great trouble and consternation; when a young man who was present, having considered the matter, said, "To attack us and break down the bridge too are things inconsistent; for it is plain, if they attack us, they must either conquer or be conquered: if they conquer, why should they break down the bridge? for in that case, though there were many bridges, we should have no place to retreat to with safety: on the other hand, if we conquer them, and the bridge be broken down, they themselves will have no place to fly to; neither can the rest of their army, though in great numbers on the other side, if they break it down, give them any assistance."

Clearchus, hearing this, asked the messenger of what extent the country was that lay between the Tigris and the canal: he answering, it was of a large extent, and contained, besides villages, many large cities, they concluded that the Barbarians had sent this man insidiously, from an apprehension lest the Greeks should not pass the bridge, but remain in the island, which was defended on one side by the Tigris, and on the other by the canal; where the country that lay between being large and fruitful, and in no want of labourers to cultivate it, might both supply them with provisions and afford them a retreat, if they were disposed to make war on the king: after which they went to rest: they, however, sent a detachment to guard the bridge; but no attempt of any kind was made on their camp, neither did any of the enemy come up to the bridge, as the guards



informed us. The next morning by break of day they passed the bridge, which was supported by thirty-seven pontoons, with all possible precaution; for some of the Greeks who were with Tissaphernes sent word that the enemy designed to attack them in their passage; but this did not prove true. However, while they were passing the river, Glus appeared with some others, observing whether they passed it or not; when perceiving they did, he rode off.

From the Tigris they made in four days' march twenty parasangs, and came to the river Physcus, one hundred feet in breadth, having a bridge over it. Here stood the large and populous city Opis, where they were met by an illegitimate brother to Cyrus and Artaxerxes, who was marching to the assistance of the king at the head of a numerous army, which he had drawn out of Susa and Ecbatana; and causing his troops to halt, he took a view of the Greeks as they passed by him. Clearchus led his men two by two, standing still from time to time. Thus, while the vanguard halted, the whole army was obliged to stand still, which made their forces appear very numerous, even to the Greeks themselves; and the Persian was struck with the sight. From thence he made in six days' march thirty parasangs through the desert part of Media, and arrived at the villages belonging to Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes. These Tissaphernes, to insult the memory of Cyrus, gave the Greeks leave to plunder of every thing but slaves; by which means they found a great quantity of corn, cattle, and other things. From thence they made twenty parasangs in five days' march through a desert, having the Tigris on their left. At the end of their first day's march they saw a large and rich city on the other side of the river, called Cænæ, whence the Barbarians transported bread, cheese, and wine on rafts made of skins.

V. After that they came to the river Zabatus, four hundred feet in breadth, where they staid three days, during which time there were jealousies, but no evidence of treachery : Clearchus therefore resolved to have a conference with Tissaphernes, and if possible to put an end to these jealousies before they broke out into hostilities : with this view he sent a person to let him know that he desired a conference with him. Tissaphernes having readily answered "he might come," Clearchus spoke thus : "I am sensible, O Tissaphernes ! that we have sworn and pledged our faith not to do any injury to one another. Notwithstanding which, I observe you are on your guard against us as against an enemy ; and we, perceiving this, stand also on our guard. But since, on consideration, I cannot find that you endeavour to do us any mischief, and am very sure that we have not the least thought of hurting you, I judged it proper to have a conference with you, to the end that we might if possible extinguish our mutual distrust : for I have known men who, while through calunnies or jealousies they stood in fear of one another, have, with a view of inflicting a mischief before they received one, done irreparable injuries to those who never had either the intention or desire to hurt them. As, therefore, I am of opinion that such mistakes are easiest removed by conferences, I come with an intention of convincing you that you have no reason to distrust us : for to mention the first, which is of the greatest moment, our oaths, to which we have called the gods to witness, forbid us to be enemies ; and that person who is conscious to himself of having neglected them in my opinion can never be happy ; for whoever becomes the object of Divine wrath, I know no swiftness can save him, no darkness hide him, no strong place defend him ; since in all places all things are subject to their power, and every where they are equally lords of all. This is my opinion concerning both our oaths and the gods whom by

I.—H

our agreement we have made the depositaries of our friendship. As to human advantages, I look on you to be the greatest we can promise ourselves at this juncture; for while we are with you every road is pervious, every river passable, and we are sure to know no want: but without you every road becomes obscure—for we are utterly unacquainted with them—every river impassable, every multitude terrible, and solitude the most terrible of all; for that is attended with the want of every thing. If, therefore, we should arrive at such a degree of madness as to put you to death, what should we do else but destroy our benefactor; and still have the king, the most powerful of all avengers, to contend with? I shall now let you see what hopes I should deprive myself of, if I endeavoured to hurt you. I desired to make Cyrus my friend, because I looked on him as the most capable of all men living to serve those he wished well to. Now, I find you have not only obtained the army, but the country that belonged to Cyrus, as an accession to your own; and that the king's power, of which he felt the weight, is become your support. In these circumstances, therefore, who would be so mad as not to desire to be your friend? Yet further, I shall let you know on what I found my hopes, that you will also desire to be a friend to us. I know the Mysians are troublesome to you; these with the forces under my command, I hope, I can oblige to submit to your power. I know the same thing of the Pisidians, and am informed that many other nations are in the same disposition, who by my means shall cease for ever to disturb your happiness. I find you are incensed against the Egyptians more than against any other nation, and cannot see what forces you can better employ than ours to assist you in chastising them. If you desire to be a friend to any of your neighbours, your friendship through our means will become most valuable; and if any of them molest you, you may, as their

superior, destroy them by our assistance; for we shall not only be subservient to you for the sake of our pay, but also in return for the obligation we shall justly owe to you as our deliverer. When I consider all these things, I am so much surprised to find you distrustful of us, that I would willingly know the person who is so powerful an orator as to persuade you that we form designs against you." Tissaphernes answered him as follows:

"I am pleased, O Clearchus! to hear you speak with so much prudence; for while you entertain these thoughts, if you should meditate any thing against me, you would at the same time act contrary to your own interest; but do you hear me in your turn, while I inform you that you yourselves cannot with justice distrust either the king or me; for if we were desirous to destroy you, do you think we are in any want of numerous horse or foot to effect it? or of arms defensive and offensive with which we have it in our power to do you mischief without the danger of receiving any? or do you think we want proper places to attack you? Are there not so many plains inhabited by our friends, through which you must march with great difficulty? so many mountains within your sight, over which your road lies, and which, by our possessing ourselves of them we can render impassable to you? so many rivers which afford us the advantage of choosing out what numbers of you we think proper to engage? Some of these you cannot even pass but by our assistance. But say we are inferior in all these; fire, at least, will prove superior to the fruits of the earth. By burning these we can oppose famine to you, with which, though you are ever so brave, you will not be able to contend. Why, therefore, should we, who have so many opportunities of making war on you, none of which carry any danger with them, choose the only one of all these that is both impious and dishonourable; the refuge of those who are destitute

of all others, distressed and driven to extremities, and who, being at the same time wicked men, resolve to accomplish their designs through perjury towards the gods and breach of faith towards men? We are not, O Clearchus! either so weak or so void of reason. When it was in our power to destroy you, why did we not attempt it? Be assured, the desire I had of approving my fidelity to the Greeks was the reason; and that, as Cyrus marched against the king, relying on foreign forces from the pay he gave them, so I might return home supported by the same troops from the obligations I had conferred on them. As to the many things in which you may be of service to me, some of them you have mentioned; but I know which is the greatest. It is the prerogative of the king to wear an upright turban on his head; but with your assistance possibly another may with some confidence wear it in his heart."

Clearchus, thinking all he said to be true, replied: "Since, therefore, we have so many motives to be friends, do not those who by calumnies endeavour to make us enemies deserve the severest punishment?" "If you," says Tissaphernes, "with the rest of the generals and captains, think fit to come to me in public, I will acquaint you with those who aver that you have designs against me and my army." "I will bring them all," says Clearchus: "and at the same time let you know, in my turn, whence I received my information concerning you." As soon as this conference was over, Tissaphernes showed him great civility, and desiring him to stay, entertained him at supper. The next day Clearchus, returning to the camp, made it manifest that he entertained very friendly thoughts of Tissaphernes, and gave an account of what he proposed. He said those Tissaphernes demanded ought to go to him; and that the persons who were found to be the authors of these calumnies ought to be punished as traitors, and ill-affected to the rest of the Greeks; for he suspected Menon to

be one of them, knowing that he and Ariæus had been in conference with Tissaphernes, and that he was forming a party against him, and intriguing, in order to draw the whole army to a dependence on himself, and by that means to recommend himself to Tissaphernes. Clearchus himself was no less solicitous to engage the esteem of the whole army, and to remove those who opposed him: but some of the soldiers, in contradiction to him, said that all the generals and captains ought not to go, neither ought they to trust Tissaphernes. However, Clearchus so strongly insisted on it, that he prevailed to have five generals and twenty captains sent to him; about two hundred soldiers followed, under colour of going to the market.

When they came to the house of Tissaphernes, the generals, Proxenus a Bœotian, Menon a Thessalian, Agias an Arcadian, Clearchus a Lacedæmonian, and Socrates an Achaian, were called in; the captains staid without. Not long after, at the same signal, those who were within were apprehended, and those without cut to pieces. After this, some of the Barbarian horse, scouring the plain, killed all the Greeks they met with, both freemen and slaves. The Greeks, from their camp, seeing these excursions of the horse, were surprised, and in doubt of what they were doing, till Nicarchus an Arcadian came flying from them, being wounded in the belly, and bearing his bowels in his hands, and informed them of all that had passed. On this the Greeks were amazed, and expecting they would immediately come and attack their camp, ran to their arms. But they did not all come; only Ariæus, with Artæzus and Mithridates, came, persons who had shown the greatest fidelity to Cyrus. However, the interpreter of the Greeks said he saw the brother to Tissaphernes with them and knew him. They were followed by three hundred other Persians, clad in armour; who, when they drew near, ordered, if any generals or captains

the Greeks were present, they should advance, to the end they might acquaint them with the king's pleasure. On this the generals, Cleanor an Orchomenian, and Sophænetus a Stymphalian, went out of the camp with great caution; and with them Xenophon an Athenian, that he might learn what was become of Proxenus. (Chrisophus happened to be absent, being employed, with others, in getting provisions in some village.) When they came within hearing, Ariæus said, "Clearchus, O Greeks! having been found guilty of a violation both of his oath and of the articles of peace, is justly punished with death; while Proxenus and Menon, for having given information of his designs, are in great honour. Of you the king demands your arms, for he says they are his, as having belonged to Cyrus, who was his subject."<sup>1</sup>

On which the Greeks made answer, Cleanor the Orchomenian speaking in the name of the rest: "O Ariæus! thou most wicked of all men, and the rest of you, who were friends to Cyrus! have you no regard either to the gods or men? You who, after you have sworn to us to look on our friends and enemies as your own, now conspire with Tissaphernes, the most impious and deceitful of all men, to betray us; and having both destroyed those persons to whom you gave your oaths, and deceived the rest of us, now come with our enemies to invade us?" To this Ariæus answered, "But it first appeared that Clearchus was forming designs against Tissaphernes, Orontas, and all the rest of us." On this Xenophon replied, "If Clearchus, contrary to his oath, has been guilty of a violation of the peace, he is justly punished; for it is just that those who are guilty of perjury should be put to death. However, send Proxenus and Menon to us, since they are both your

<sup>1</sup> Literally, his slave. This it seems was the style of the Persian court, which not only treated their subjects as slaves, but had the insolence to call them so

benefactors and our commanders : for it is evident that, being friends to both of us, they will endeavour to advise that which is best for both." To this the Barbarians made no answer ; but having conferred together for a considerable time, they departed.

VI. The generals, being thus apprehended, were carried to the king, by whose orders their heads were cut off. One of them, Clearchus, was allowed by all that knew him to have been a man both of a military genius, and one who delighted in war to the last degree ; for, as long as the Lacedæmonians were at war with the Athenians, he continued in the service of his country ; but after the peace he persuaded his fellow-citizens that the Thracians oppressed the Greeks ; and having prevailed on the ephori,<sup>1</sup> by some means or other, he set sail with a design to make war on the Thracians, who inhabit above the Chersonesus and Perinthus. After his departure the ephori, for some reasons, changed their minds, and recalled him from the isthmus ; but he refused to obey them, and sailed away for the Hellespont ; on which he was condemned to die by the magistrates of Sparta, as guilty of disobedience. Being now a banished man, he comes to Cyrus, and by what means he gained his confidence has been mentioned in another place. Cyrus gave him ten thousand daricks. Having received this money, he did not give himself up to indolence, but, raising an army with it, made war on the Thracians ; and overcoming them in

<sup>1</sup> The ancient authors do not agree concerning the person who instituted these magistrates. Herodotus and Xenophon attribute their institution to Lycurgus, jointly with the most considerable citizens of Sparta. On the other hand, Plutarch says Theopompus, who reigned many years after Lycurgus, was the author of it. However, this is certain, that the three orders of the state, that is, the two kings, the senators, all the magistrates, even during their magistracy, and the people, were subject to their power. But the thing that gives the greatest relief to the reputation of their college is, that it served as a model for the institution of the Roman tribunes, who, like the ephori, were only five in number, till the year of Rome 297, and the first of the eighty-first Olympiad, C. Horatius and Q. Minucius being consuls, when five more were added to them.



battle, plundered their country, and continued the war till Cyrus had occasion for his army, when he departed, with a design of attending him in his expedition.

These, therefore, seem to be the actions of a man delighting in war, who, when it is in his power to live in peace without detriment or dishonour, prefers war; when we live in ease, chooses labour, with a view to war; and when to enjoy riches without danger, chooses rather, by making war, to diminish them: so that he spent his money in war as cheerfully as if it had been in gallantry, or any other pleasure; so much he delighted in it. His genius for war appeared by his forwardness to expose himself, and to attack the enemy either by night or day, and by his conduct in danger; as those who attended him on all occasions universally acknowledged. He was said to have possessed the art of commanding, as far as could be expected from a man of his temper; for, being as capable as any other of taking care his army was supplied with provisions, and of providing them, he was not less so of inspiring those who were present with a dread of disobeying him. This he effected by severity, for his look was stern, and his voice harsh: he always punished with rigour, and frequently in passion; so that he sometimes repented it. But he also inflicted punishments with deliberation, looking on an army without discipline to be of no service. He is reported to have said that a soldier ought to fear his commander more than the enemy, if it is expected that he should do his duty on guard, abstain from what belongs to a friend, or attack the enemy without reluctance. In dangers the men obeyed him absolutely, nor ever desired to be commanded by any other; for they said his sternness seemed then changed to cheerfulness, and his severity to resolution; so that they looked on it no longer as severity, but as their preservation. However when the danger was over, and they had an

opportunity of serving under other commanders, many of them left him; for he was not in the least gracious, but always rough and cruel; so that the soldiers were in the same disposition to him as scholars to their master; none ever following him out of friendship or good-will. Those who were appointed by his country, or compelled through want, or any other necessity, to serve under him, were perfectly obedient to him. And when they began to conquer under his command, many things concurred to make them good soldiers; for their confidence in their own strength, joined to their fear of him, made them observant. This was his character as a commander: but it was said that he was unwilling to be commanded by others. When he died he was about fifty years of age.

Proxenus the Bœotian, even from a child, was desirous of becoming equal to great employments; and to satisfy this desire, gave a sum of money to Gorgias<sup>1</sup> the Leontine. After he had been some time with him, thinking himself now both able to command, and if he entered into the friendship of great men to return all obligations, he engaged in this enterprise with Cyrus, whence he promised to himself great reputation, great power, and great riches. Though he was earnest in the pursuit of these, yet on the other hand his conduct plainly

<sup>1</sup> This Gorgias was a celebrated master of eloquence. He so far surpassed all the rest of his profession, that Diodorus Siculus tells us he received no less from his scholars than one hundred minæ, that is, 322*l* 18*s.* 4*d.* sterling. This Gorgias, it seems, was at the head of the embassy which the Leontines sent to Athens, the second year of the eighty eighth Olympiad, to desire their assistance against the Syracusans. In the first audience he had of the Athenians his eloquence, or rather the novelty of it, so enchanted that people, who were great admirers of both that they were unfortunately prevailed on to engage in the Sicilian war, the event of which gave them so fatal a blow they could never recover it. Diodorus Siculus says also that he was the inventor of the art of rhetoric, and the first who made use of studied figures and laboured antitheses of equal length, and the same termination. This manner of speaking, the same author says, pleased at first from its novelty, but was afterward looked on as affected, and, if frequently practised, ridiculous.

showed that he did not desire to gain any of them through injustice ; but that he ought to attain them with justice and honour, and not otherwise. He was very capable of commanding an orderly and well-disciplined army ; but incapable of inspiring respect or fear, and stood in greater awe of his men than they of him ; it being visible that he was more afraid of disobliging them than they of disobeying him. It was his opinion, that all which was required to be, and seem to be equal to the command, was to praise worthy men, and not to praise the unworthy ; for which reason he was beloved by men of worth and honour, while bad men were for ever forming designs against him, as against a man easy to be circumvented. He was about thirty years old when he died.

Menon the Thessalian did not either conceal his immoderate desire of riches, or his desire of commanding, in order to increase them ; or of being esteemed for the same reason. He desired to be well with those in power, that his injustice might escape punishment. He thought the shortest way to accomplish his designs were perjury, falsehood, and deceit ; and that simplicity and truth were weaknesses. He was observed to have no affection for any man ; and where he professed a friendship, it was visible he designed to betray. He never spoke with contempt of an enemy, but was ever turning all those he conversed with into ridicule. He never formed any design against the possessions of an enemy, for he thought it difficult to rob those who were on their guard, but looked on himself as the only person that was sensible how very easy it is to seize the unguarded possessions of a friend. He stood in fear of those whom he observed to be guilty of perjury and injustice, as of men well armed ; but practised on persons of piety and truth as on those who are defenceless. And as others value themselves on religion, veracity, and justice, so Menon

valued himself on being able to deceive, to invent falsehoods, and abuse his friends; and looked on those as ignorant who were without guile. When he endeavoured to gain the first place in any man's friendship, he thought the most effectual way of recommending himself was by slandering those who were in possession of it. He sought to make himself obeyed by the soldiers by becoming an accomplice in their crimes; and aimed at being esteemed and courted, by showing that he had both the power and the will to commit great injustice. If any one forsook him, he spoke of it as a favour, that while he made use of his service he did not destroy him. Whatever is not publicly known in this man's character may seem to be feigned, but the following particulars all the world is acquainted with. While he was in the flower of his youth he obtained the command of the mercenaries in the service of Aristippus. When the rest of the generals suffered for having made war against the king with Cyrus, he, though equally guilty, did not lose his life; but was afterward punished with death by the king, not like Clearchus and the rest of the generals, by losing his head, which was looked on as the most honourable death, but, as it is said, after he had been tortured a whole year like a malefactor.

Agias the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achaian, were both put to death at the same time: these were without reproach both in war and friendship. They were then about forty years of age

## BOOK III.

CHAP. I. IN the foregoing discourse we have related the actions of the Greeks, during the expedition of Cyrus, to the battle, and what happened after his death, when the Greeks marched away with Tissaphernes on the peace. After the generals were apprehended, and the captains and soldiers who accompanied them put to death, the Greeks were in great distress ; knowing they were not far from the king's palace, surrounded on all sides with many nations and many cities, all their enemies, that no one would any longer supply them with provisions ; that they were distant from Greece above ten thousand stadia, without a guide to conduct them, and their road thither intercepted by impassable rivers ; that even those Barbarians who had served under Cyrus had betrayed them ; and that they were now left alone without any horse to assist them. By which it was evident that if they overcame the enemy they could not destroy a man of them in the pursuit, and if they themselves were overcome not one of them could escape. These reflections so disheartened them that few ate any thing that evening, few made fires, and many that night never came to their quarter, but laid themselves down, every man in the place where he happened to be, unable to sleep through sorrow, and a longing for their country, their parents, their wives and children, whom they never expected to see again. In this disposition of mind they all lay down to rest.

There was in the army an Athenian, by name Xenophon, who, without being a general, a captain, or a soldier, served as a volunteer ; for having been long attached to Proxenus by the rights of hospi-

talily, the latter sent for him from home, with a promise if he came to recommend him to Cyrus; from whom he said he expected greater advantages than from his own country. Xenophon, having read the letter, consulted Socrates the Athenian concerning the journey, who, fearing lest his country might look on his attachment to Cyrus as criminal, because that prince was thought to have espoused the interest of the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians with great warmth, advised Xenophon to go to Delphos and consult the god of the place concerning the matter. Xenophon went thither accordingly, and asked Apollo to which of the gods he should offer sacrifice and address his prayers, to the end that he might perform the journey he proposed in the best and most reputable manner, and after a happy issue of it return in safety. Apollo answered, that he should sacrifice to the proper gods. At his return he acquainted Socrates with this answer, who blamed him because he had not asked Apollo in the first place whether it were better for him to undertake this journey than to stay at home; but having himself first determined to undertake it, he had consulted him concerning the most proper means of performing it with success; "but since," says he, "you have asked this, you ought to do what the god has commanded." Xenophon, therefore, having offered sacrifice to the gods, according to the direction of the oracle, set sail, and found Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardis ready to march towards the Upper Asia. Here he was presented to Cyrus, and Proxenus pressing him to stay, Cyrus was no less earnest in persuading him, and assured him that as soon as the expedition was at an end he would dismiss him; this he pretended was designed against the Pisidians.

Xenophon, therefore, thus imposed on, engaged in the enterprise, though Proxenus had no share in the imposition; for none of the Greeks, besides Clearchus, knew it was intended against the king: †

when they arrived in Cilicia, every one saw the expedition was designed against him. Then, though they were terrified at the length of the way, and unwilling to go on, yet the greatest part of them, out of a regard both to one another and to Cyrus, followed him: and Xenophon was of this number. When the Greeks were in this distress, he had his share in the general sorrow, and was unable to rest. However, getting a little sleep, he dreamed that it thundered, and that a flash of lightning fell on his paternal house, which was all in a blaze. Immediately he awoke in a fright, and looked on his dream as happy in this respect, because, while he was engaged in difficulties and dangers, he saw a great light proceeding from Jupiter. On the other hand, he was full of fear, when he considered that the fire, by blazing all around him, might portend that he should not be able to get out of the king's territories, but should be surrounded on all sides with difficulties.

However, the events which were consequent on this dream sufficiently explain the nature of it; for presently these things happened. As soon as he awoke, the first thought that occurred to him was this, Why do I lie here? the night wears away, and as soon as the day appears it is probable the enemy will come and attack us: and if we fall under the power of the king, what can preserve us from being spectators of the most tragical sights, from suffering the most cruel torments, and from dying with the greatest ignominy? Yet no one makes preparation for defence, or takes any care about it: but here we lie, as if we were allowed to live in quiet. From what city therefore do I expect a general to perform these things? what age do I wait for? But if I abandon myself to the enemy this day, I shall never live to see another. On this he rose, and first assembled the captains who had served under Proxenus; and when they were together, he said to them "Friends! I can neither sleep (which I suppose is

your case also) nor lie any longer, when I consider the condition to which we are reduced: for it is plain the enemy would not have declared war against us had they not first made the necessary preparations; while, on our side, none takes any care how we may resist them in the best manner possible. If we are remiss, and fall under the power of the king, what have we to expect from him who cut off the head and hand of his brother, even after he was dead, and fixed them on a stake? How then will he treat us, who have no support, and have made war against him, with a design to reduce him from the condition of a king to that of a subject; and if it lay in our power, to put him to death? Will he not try the power of every extremity, to the end that by torturing us in the most ignominious manner, he may deter all men from ever making war against him? We ought therefore to do every thing rather than fall into his hands. While the peace lasted, I own I never ceased to consider ourselves as extremely miserable, and the king, with those who belonged to him, equally happy. When I cast my eyes around, and beheld how spacious and beautiful a country they were masters of, how they abounded in provisions, slaves, cattle, gold, and rich apparel; and, on the other hand, reflected on the situation of our men, who had no share of all these advantages without paying for them, which I knew very few were any longer able to do, and that our oaths forbade us to provide ourselves by any other means; when I reflected, I say, on these things, I was more afraid of peace than now I am of war. But since they have put an end to the peace, there seems to be an end also both of their insolence and our jealousy. And these advantages lie now as a prize between us, to be given to the bravest. In this combat<sup>1</sup> the gods

<sup>1</sup> This alludes to the umpires who were chosen to preside at the Olympic and other games. This allusion, which gives great beauty to the whole passage, is entirely left out by D'Ablancourt.



are the umpires, who will with justice declare in our favour; for our enemies have provoked them by perjury, which we, surrounded with every thing to tempt us, have with constancy abstained from all, that we might preserve our oaths inviolate. So that in my opinion we have reason to engage in this combat with greater confidence than they. Besides, our bodies are more patient of cold, of heat, and of labour than theirs, and our minds, with the assistance of the gods, more resolved. And if, as before, the gods vouchsafe to grant us the victory, their men will be more obnoxious to wounds and death. But possibly others may also entertain these thoughts. For heaven's sake, then, let us not stay till others come to encourage us to glorious actions, but let us prevent them, and excite even them to virtue. Show yourselves the bravest of all the captains, and the most worthy to command of all the generals. As for me, if you desire to lead the way in this, I will follow you with cheerfulness, and if you appoint me to be your leader, I shall not excuse myself by reason of my age, but think myself even in the vigour of it to repel an injury."

The captains hearing this, all desired he would take on him the command, except a certain person, by name Apollonides, who affected to speak in the Bœotian dialect. This man said, that whoever proposed any other means of returning to Greece than by endeavouring to persuade the king to consent to it, talked impertinently; and at the same time began to recount the difficulties they were engaged in. But Xenophon, interrupting him, said, "Thou most admirable man! who art both insensible of what you see, and forgetful of what you hear. You were present when the king, after the death of Cyrus, exulting in his victory, sent to us to deliver up our arms; and when, instead of delivering them up, we marched out ready to give him battle, and encamped near him, what did he leave undone, by sending

ambassadors, begging peace, and supplying us with provisions till he had obtained it? And afterward, when our generals and captains went to confer with them, as you advise us to do, without their arms, relying on the peace, what has been their treatment? Are not these unfortunate men daily scourged, tortured, and insulted, and forbid even to die, though I dare say they earnestly desire it? When you know all this, can you say that those who exhort us to defend ourselves talk impertinently? and dare you advise us to sue again to the king for favour? For my part, friends, I think we ought not to admit this man any longer into our company, but use him as he deserves, by removing him from his command, and employing him in carrying our baggage; for, by being a Greek with such a mind, he is a shame to his country, and dishonours all Greece."

Then Agasias of Stymphalus said, "This man has no relation to Bœotia, or to any other part of Greece; for to my knowledge both his ears are bored like a Lydian." Which was found to be true: so they expelled him their company. The rest went to all the quarters of the army, and where any generals were left they called them up; where they were wanting, their lieutenants; and where there were any captains left they called up them. When they were all assembled they placed themselves before the quarter where the heavy-armed men lay encamped, the number of the generals and captains amounting to about a hundred. While this was doing it was near midnight. Then Hieronymus of Elis, the oldest of all the captains who had served under Proxenus, began thus: "Friends! we have thought proper in the present juncture both to assemble ourselves and call you together, to the end we may, if possible, consider of something to our advantage. Do you, O Xenophon! represent to them what you have laid before us." On this Xenophon said:

"We are all sensible that the king and Tissaphernes  
I.—I

have caused as many of us as they could to be apprehended, and it is plain they design by the same treacherous means, if they can, to destroy the rest. We ought, therefore, in my opinion, to attempt every thing, not only to prevent our falling under their power, but if possible subject them to ours. Know then, that being assembled in so great numbers you have the fairest of all opportunities; for all the soldiers fix their eyes on you: if they see you disheartened their courage will forsake them; but if you appear resolute yourselves and exhort them to do their duty, be assured they will follow you, and endeavour to imitate your example. It seems also reasonable that you should excel them in some degree, for you are their generals, their leaders, and their captains; and as in time of peace you have the advantage of them both in riches and honours, so now in time of war you ought to challenge the pre-eminence in courage, in counsel, and, if necessary, in labour. In the first place, then, it is my opinion that you will do great service to the army if you take care that generals and captains are immediately chosen in the room of those who are slain: since, without chiefs nothing either great or profitable can indeed be achieved on any occasion, but least of all in war; for as discipline preserves armies, so the want of it has already been fatal to many. After you have appointed as many commanders as are necessary, I should think it highly seasonable for you to assemble and encourage the rest of the soldiers; for no doubt you must have observed, as well as I, how dejectedly they came to their quarters, and how heavily they went on guard: so that while they are in this disposition I do not know what service can either by night or day be expected from them. They have at present nothing before their eyes but sufferings: if any one can turn their thoughts to action it would greatly encourage them; for you know that neither numbers nor strength give

the victory; but that side which, with the assistance of the gods, attacks with the greatest resolution, is generally irresistible. I have taken notice also that those men who in war seek to preserve their lives at any rate commonly die with shame and ignominy; while those who look on death as common to all and unavoidable, and are only solicitous to die with honour, oftener arrive at old age, and while they live, live happier. As, therefore, we are sensible of these things, it behooves us at this critical juncture both to act with courage ourselves and to exhort the rest to do the same."

After him Chirisophus said: "Before this time, O Xenophon! I knew no more of you than that you were an Athenian; but now I commend both your words and actions, and wish we had many in the army like you; for it would be a general good. And now, friends, let us lose no time: those of you who want commanders depart immediately and choose them: and when that is done, come into the middle of the camp, and bring them with you: after that we will call the rest of the soldiers hither: and let Tolmides the crier attend." Saying this, he rose up, that what was necessary might be transacted without delay. After this Timasion a Dardanian was chosen general in the room of Clearchus; Xanthicles an Achaian, in the room of Socrates; Cleanor an Orchomenian, in the room of Agias an Arcadian; Philysius an Achaian, in the room of Menon; and Xenophon an Athenian, in that of Proxenus.

II. As soon as the election was over, it being now near break of day, the officers advanced to the middle of the camp, and resolved first to appoint out-guards, and then to call the soldiers together. When they were all assembled, Chirisophus the Lacedæmonian first got up, and spoke as follows: "Soldiers! we are at present under great difficulties, being deprived of such generals, captains, and soldiers. Besides, the

torces of Ariæus, who were before our auxiliaries have betrayed us. However, we ought to emerge out of our present circumstances like brave men, and not be cast down, but endeavour to redeem ourselves by a glorious victory. If that is impossible, let us die with honour, and never fall alive under the power of the enemy; for in that case we should suffer such things as I hope the gods keep in store for them."

After him Cleanor of Orchomenus rose up and said: "You see, O soldiers! the perjury and impiety of the king as well as the perfidy of Tissaphernes, who amused us by saying that he lived in the neighbourhood of Greece, and should of all things be most desirous to carry us in safety thither. It was he that gave us his oath to perform this; he that pledged his faith; he that betrayed us and caused our generals to be apprehended: and this he did in defiance even of Jupiter, the avenger of violated hospitality; for having entertained Clearchus at his table, by these arts he first deceived and then destroyed our generals. Ariæus also, whom we offered to place on the throne, with whom we were engaged by a mutual exchange of faith not to betray one another; this man, I say, without either fear of the gods or respect for the memory of Cyrus, though of all others the most esteemed by him when alive, now revolts to his greatest enemies, and endeavours to distress us who were his friends. But of these may the gods take vengeance! It behooves us, who have these things before our eyes, not only to take care that these men do not again betray us, but also to fight with all possible bravery, and submit to what the gods shall determine."

Then Xenophon rose up, dressed for the war in the most gorgeous armour he could provide; for he thought if the gods granted him victory, these ornaments would become a conqueror; and if he were to die they would decorate his fall. He began in the

following manner: "Cleanor has laid before you the perjury and treachery of the Barbarians, which to be sure you yourselves are no strangers to. If, therefore, we have any thoughts of trying their friendship again, we must be under great concern, when we consider what our generals have suffered, who by trusting to their faith put themselves in their power. But if we propose to take revenge of them with our swords for what they have done, and persecute them for the future with war in every shape, we have, with the assistance of the gods, many fair prospects of safety." While he was speaking one of the company sneezed: on this the soldiers all at once adored the god. Then Xenophon said, "Since, O soldiers! while we were speaking of safety Jupiter the preserver sent us an omen, I think we ought to make a vow to offer sacrifice to this god, in thanksgiving for our preservation, in that place where we first reach the territories of our friends; and also to the rest of the gods in the best manner we are able. Whoever then is of this opinion let him hold up his hand." And they all held up their hands; then made their vows, and sung the pæan. After they had performed their duty to the gods he went on thus:

"I was saying that we had many fair prospects of safety. In the first place we have observed the oaths to which we called the gods to witness, while our enemies have been guilty of perjury, and have violated both their oaths and the peace. This being so, we have reason to expect the gods will declare against them, and combat on our side: and they have it in their power, when they think fit soon to humble the high, and with ease to exalt the low, though in distress. On this occasion I shall put you in mind of the dangers our ancestors were involved in, in order to convince you that it behoves you to be brave, and that those who are so are preserved by the gods amid the greatest calamities; for when the Per-

sians<sup>1</sup> and their allies came with a vast army to destroy Athens, the Athenians, by daring to oppose them, overcame them: and having made a vow to Diana to sacrifice as many goats to her as they killed of the enemy, when they could not find enough they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year: and even to this day they offer sacrifice in thanksgiving for that victory.<sup>2</sup> Afterward, when Xerxes invaded Greece with an innumerable army, then it was that our ancestors overcame the ancestors of these very men both by sea and land; of which the trophies that were erected on that occasion are lasting monuments still to be seen. But of all monuments, the most considerable is the liberty of those cities in which you have received your birth and education:

<sup>1</sup> This was the first expedition of the Persians against the Greeks, when, under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, they invaded their country, and were defeated by Miltiades at the battle of Marathon. This invasion seems to have been occasioned by the twenty ships which the Athenians sent to Miletus, under the command of Melanthius, at the instigation of Aristagoras, to assist the Ionians against the Persians; this, and their peremptory refusal to receive Hippias their tyrant, who had fled to Persia for refuge, provoked Darius Hystaspes to send a powerful fleet to invade Athens, the success of which has been mentioned. In this defeat the Persians lost six thousand four hundred men, and the Athenians with their allies the Plataeans, only one hundred and ninety-two: but on the Persian side fell Hippias, and lost that life in the field which had long been due to the sword of justice. This battle was fought on the sixth day of the Attic month Boëdromion (with us September), the third month from the summer solstice, and the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad, Phenippus being archon, and four years before the death of Darius.

<sup>2</sup> This is the second expedition of the Persians against the Greeks, in which Xerxes himself commanded. The year in which this was undertaken was the tenth from that in which the battle of Marathon was fought. Xenophon had reason to call this army innumerable, since Herodotus makes it amount to about three millions; which number is expressed in the epitaph that was inscribed on the monument erected at Thermopylae, in honour of those Greeks who died there in the service of their country. This inscription says, that in that place four thousand Peloponnesians engaged three millions of the enemy. This seems very authentic. The victories here hinted at by Xenophon, which the Athenians with their allies gained over the Persians, by sea and land, were Artemisium and Salamina, Plataea and Mycale; the last two being gained the same day that is, the third of the Attic month Boëdromion, September, a day, it seems, auspicious to the cause of liberty—the first in Bœotia, and the last at Mycale, a promontory of Ionia.

for you pay adoration to no other master but the gods. From such ancestors are you descended: neither can I say that you are a dishonour to them, since within these few days you engaged the descendants of those men, many times superior to you in number, and with the assistance of the gods defeated them. Then you fought to place Cyrus on the throne, and in his cause fought bravely: now your own safety is at stake you ought certainly to show more courage and alacrity. You have also reason now to entertain a greater confidence in your own strength than before; for though you were then unacquainted with the enemy, and saw them before you in vast numbers, however, you dared to attack them with the spirit of your ancestors: whereas now you have had experience of them, and are sensible that though they exceed you many times in number they dare not stand before you, why should you any longer fear them? Neither ought you to look on it as a disadvantage, that the Barbarians belonging to Cyrus, who before fought on your side, have now forsaken you; for they are yet worse soldiers than those we have already overcome.

“ They have left us, therefore, and are fled to them; and it is our advantage that those who are the first to fly should be found in the enemy’s army rather than in our own. If any of you are disheartened because we have no horse, in which the enemy abound, let them consider that ten thousand horse are no more than ten thousand men; for no one was ever killed in an action by the bite or kick of a horse. The men do every thing that is done in battle. But, further, we are steadier on the ground than they on horseback: for they, hanging on their horses, are not only afraid of us, but also of falling; while we, standing firmly on the ground, strike those who approach us with greater force and a surer aim. The horse have but one advantage over us, they can fly with greater security. But if you are confident



of your strength in battle, yet look on it as a grievance that Tissaphernes will no longer conduct us, or the king supply us with a market; consider which is the most advantageous, to have Tissaphernes for our conductor, who it is plain has betrayed us, or such guides as we shall make choice of, who will be sensible that if they mislead us they must answer it with their lives. Consider also whether it is better for us to purchase, in the markets they provide, small measures for great sums of money, which we are no longer able to furnish; or, if we conquer, to make use of no other measure but our will. If you are convinced that those things are best in the way they are in, but think the rivers are not to be repassed, and that you have been greatly deluded in passing them, consider with yourselves whether the Barbarians have not taken very wrong measures even in this, for all rivers, though at a distance from their springs they may be impassable, yet if you go to their sources you will find them so easily fordable as not even to wet your knees. But if the rivers refuse us passage, and no guide appears to conduct us, even in that case we ought not to be disheartened; for we know that the Mysians, who are certainly not braver men than ourselves, inhabit many large and rich cities in the king's territories against his will. The Pisidians we also know do the same. We have ourselves seen the Lycaonians, who, after they had made themselves masters of the strong places that command the plains, enjoy the produce of the country. And I should think we ought not yet to betray a desire of returning home; but prepare every thing as if we proposed to settle here: for I am well assured that the king would grant many guides to the Mysians, and give them many hostages as a security to conduct them out of his territories without fraud: he would even level the roads for them, if they insisted on being sent away in chariots. And I am convinced he would with great alacrity do the same for us, if he

saw us disposed to stay here : but I am afraid if once we learn to live in idleness and plenty, and converse with the fair and stately wives and daughters of the Medes and Persians, we shall, like the Lotophagi, forget to return home. It seems, therefore, to me both just and reasonable that we first endeavour to return to Greece and to our families, and let our countrymen see that they live in voluntary poverty, since it is in their power to bring their poor hither and enrich them : for all these advantages, friends, are the rewards of victory. The next thing I shall mention to you is, in what manner we may march with the greatest security, and, if necessary, fight with the greatest advantage. In the first place," continued he, " I think we ought to burn all the carriages, that the care of them may not influence our march, but that we may be directed in it by the advantage of the army. After that, we ought to burn our tents also ; for they are troublesome to carry, and of no use either in fighting or in supplying ourselves with provisions. Let us also rid ourselves of all superfluous baggage, and reserve only those things that are of use in war or for our meat and drink, to the end as many of us as possible may march in ranks, and as few be employed in carrying the baggage. It now remains that I speak to that which is in my opinion of the greatest consequence. You see that even the enemy did not dare to declare war against us till they had seized our generals ; for they were sensible that while we had commanders, and yielded obedience to them, we were able to conquer them : but having seized our commanders they concluded that we should, from a want of command and discipline, be destroyed. It is necessary, therefore, that our present generals should be more careful than the former, and the soldiers more observant and more obedient to them than to their predecessors ; and if you make an order, that whoever of you happens to be present shall assist the commande in

chastising those who are guilty of disobedience, it will be the most effectual means to frustrate the designs of the enemy; for from this day instead of one Clearchus they will find a thousand, who will suffer no man to neglect his duty. But it is now time to make an end, for it is probable the enemy will presently appear; and if you approve of any thing I have said ratify it immediately, that you may put it in execution. But if any other person thinks of any thing more proper, though a private man, let him propose it; for our preservation is a general concern."

After that Chirisophus said, "If it is necessary to add any thing to what Xenophon has laid before us, it may be done by-and-by; at present I think we ought to ratify what he has proposed; and whoever is of that opinion let him hold up his hand:" and they all held up their hands. Then Xenophon, rising up again, said, "Hear, then, O soldiers! what, in my opinion, we are to expect. It is evident that we must go to some place where we may get provisions. I am informed there are many fair villages not above twenty stadia from hence; I should not, therefore, be surprised if the enemy, like cowardly dogs, that follow, and, if they can, bite those who pass by, but fly from those that pursue them, should also follow us when we begin to move. Possibly, therefore, we shall march with greater safety if we dispose the heavy-armed men in a hollow square, to the end the baggage and the great number of those who belong to it may be in greater security. If then we now appoint the proper persons to command the front, each of the flanks, and the rear, we shall not have to consider of this when the enemy appears, but shall presently be ready to execute what we have resolved. If any other person has any thing better to propose, let it be otherwise; if not, let Chirisophus command the front, since he is a Lacedæmonian; let two of the oldest generals command the flanks; and Tima

sion and myself, who are the youngest, will for the present take charge of the rear. Afterward, when we have had experience of this disposition, we may consider what is best to be done, as occasion offers. If any one thinks of any thing better, let him mention it." But nobody opposing what he offered, he said, "Let those who are of this opinion hold up their hands:" so this was resolved. "Now," said he, "you are to depart and execute what is determined: and whoever among you desires to return to his family, let him remember to fight bravely, for this is the only means to effect it: whoever has a mind to live, let him endeavour to conquer; for the part of the conqueror is to inflict death, that of the conquered to receive it. And if any among you covet riches, let him endeavour to overcome; for the victorious not only preserve their own possessions, but acquire those of the enemy."

III. After he had said this they all rose up, and departing, burnt their carriages and tents: as for the superfluous part of their baggage, they gave that to one another where it was wanted, and cast the rest into the fire, and then went to dinner. While they were at dinner Mithridates advanced with about thirty horse, and desiring the generals might come within hearing, he said, "O Greeks! I was faithful to Cyrus, as you yourselves know, and now wish well to you; and do assure you, that while I remain here I am under great apprehensions. So that if I saw you taking salutary resolutions I would come over to you, and bring all my people with me. Inform me, therefore, of what you resolve, for I am your friend and well-wisher, and desire to join you in your march." After the generals had consulted together, they thought proper to return this answer, Chiriso-phus speaking in the name of the rest: "We resolve," said he, "if we are suffered to return home, to march through the country with as little damage to it as possible: but if any one oppose our march, to fight

our way through it in the best manner we are able." Mithridates on this endeavoured to show how impossible it was for them to return in safety without the king's consent. This rendered him suspected; besides, one belonging to Tissaphernes was in his company as a spy on him. From this time forward the generals determined that they would admit of no other treaty while they continued in the enemy's country: for, by coming in this manner, they not only corrupted the soldiers, but Nicarchus an Arcadian, one of the captains, deserted to them that night with about twenty men.

As soon as the soldiers had dined the army passed the river Zabatus, and marched in order of battle, with the baggage and those who attended it in the middle. They had not gone far before Mithridates appeared again with about two hundred horse and four hundred archers and slingers, very light and fit for expedition. He advanced as a friend; but when he came near, immediately both horse and foot discharged their arrows; the slingers also made use of their slings, and wounded some of our men, so that the rear of the Greeks received great damage, without being able to return it; for the bows of the Cretans did not carry so far as those of the Persians. The former also, being lightly armed, had sheltered themselves in the centre of the heavy-armed men; neither could our darters reach their slingers. Xenophon, seeing this, resolved to pursue the enemy; and the heavy-armed men and targeteers who were with him in the rear followed the pursuit. But they could come up with none of them; for the Greeks had no horse, and their foot could not in so short a space overtake those of the enemy, who had so much the start of them. Neither durst they in the pursuit separate themselves too far from the rest of the army; for the Barbarian horse wounded them as they fled, shooting backward from their horses; and far as the Greeks were advanced in the pursuit, so

far they were obliged to retreat fighting; insomuch, that they could not march above five-and-twenty stadia all that day; however, in the evening they arrived in the villages. Here the troops were again disheartened, and Chirisophus, with the oldest generals, blamed Xenophon for leaving the main body to pursue the enemy, and exposing himself without any possibility of hurting them.

Xenophon, hearing this, said they had reason to blame him, and that they were justified by the event. "But," said he, "I was under the necessity of pursuing the enemy, since I saw our men suffer great damage by standing still, without being able to return it; but when we were engaged in the pursuit," continued he, "we found what you say to be true; for we were not more able to annoy the enemy than before, and retreated with great difficulty. We have reason, therefore, to thank the gods that they came on us only with a small force and a few troops, so that instead of doing us great damage, they have taught us our wants; for now the enemy's archers and slingers wound our men at a greater distance than either the Cretans or the darters can reach them; and when we pursue them, we must not separate ourselves far from the main body; and in a short space our foot, though ever so swift, cannot come up with theirs, so as to reach them with their arrows. If we mean, therefore, to hinder them from disturbing us in our march we must immediately provide ourselves with slingers and horse. I hear there are Rhodians in our army, the greatest part of whom they say, understand the use of the sling, and that their slings carry twice as far as those of the Persians, who, throwing large stones, cannot assail their enemy at a great distance; whereas the Rhodians, besides stones, make use of leaden balls. If, therefore, we inquire who have slings, and pay them for them, and also give money to those who are willing to make others, granting at the same time some other

immunity to those who voluntarily enlist among the slingers, possibly some will offer who may be fit for that service. I see also horses in the army, some belonging to me, and some left by Clearchus; besides many others that we have taken from the enemy, which are employed in carrying the baggage. If, therefore, we choose out all the best of these, and accoutre them for the horse, giving to the owners sumpter horses in exchange, possibly these also may annoy the enemy in their flight." These things were resolved on, and the same night two hundred slingers enlisted themselves. The next day proper horses and horsemen were appointed, to the number of fifty, and coats-of-mail and corslets were provided for them, and the command of them was given to Lycius, the son of Polystratus an Athenian.

IV. That day the army staid in the same place, and the next day they began their march earlier than usual, for they had a valley formed by a torrent to pass, and were afraid the enemy should attack them in their passage. As soon as they had passed it Mithridates appeared again with a thousand horse, and four thousand archers and slingers; for so many Tissaphernes had granted him, at his desire, and on his undertaking with that number to deliver the Greeks into his power: for having, in the last action, with a small force done them, as he imagined, great damage, without receiving any, he had a contempt for them. When the Greeks were advanced about eight stadia beyond the valley Mithridates also passed it with the forces under his command. The Greek generals had given orders to a certain number, both of the targeteers and heavy-armed men, to follow in the chase, and also to the horse to pursue them boldly, with assurance that a sufficient force should follow to sustain them. When, therefore, Mithridates overtook them, and was now within reach of their slings and arrows, the trumpet sounded, and those of the Greeks who had orders immediately

attacked the enemy, the horse charging at the same time. However, the Persians did not stand to receive them, but fled to the valley. In this pursuit the Barbarians lost many of their foot, and about eighteen of their horse were taken prisoners in the valley. The Greeks, of their own accord, mangled the bodies of those that were slain, to create the greater horror in the enemy.

After this defeat the Persians retired, and the Greeks, marching the rest of the day without disturbance, came to the river Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited city, called Larissa, anciently inhabited by the Medes, the walls of which were twenty-five feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and two parasangs in circuit; all built with bricks, except the plinth, which was of stone, and twenty feet high. This city, when besieged by the King of Persia, at the time the Persians were wresting the empire from the Medes, he could not make himself master of by any means; when it happened that the sun, obscured by a cloud, disappeared, and the darkness continued till the inhabitants being seized with consternation, the town was taken. Close to the city stood a pyramid<sup>1</sup> of stone, one hundred feet square, and two

<sup>1</sup> These are very extraordinary dimensions for a pyramid, and very different from those of the Egyptian pyramids; so that we find the Egyptian and Asiatic taste disagreed very much in this respect; for, though there is some diversity in the accounts given by the ancient authors of the dimensions of the Egyptian pyramids, yet they all make them very different in their proportions from this described by Xenophon. Herodotus makes the great pyramid at Memphis eight hundred Greek feet square, and as many in height. Diodorus Siculus says the great pyramid was square, and that each side of the base was seven hundred feet, and the height above six hundred. There is another account given of its dimensions by a modern author, Thevenot, who says the great pyramid is five hundred and twenty feet high and six hundred and eighty-two square. Of these three accounts that of Diodorus Siculus seems to give the most rational proportion of a pyramid, which, if supposed to be an equilateral triangle, and the base to contain seven hundred feet, as he says, will in that case have six hundred and six feet, and a fraction of two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven for its perpendicular height; for if an equilateral pyramid, of which the base contains seven hundred feet, be divided into two equal parts by a perpendicular let down from the top, it will make two right-angled triangles, of which the hypothe-



hundred high, in which a great number of Barbarians, who fled from the neighbouring villages, had conveyed themselves.

Thence they made, in one day's march, six parasangs, to a large uninhabited castle, standing near a town called Mespila, formerly inhabited also by the Medes. The plinth of the wall was built with polished stone full of shells, being fifty feet in breadth, and as many in height. On this stood a brick wall fifty feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and six parasangs in circuit. Here Media, the king's consort, is said to have taken refuge, when the Medes were deprived of the empire by the Persians. When the Persian king besieged the city, he could not make himself master of it, either by length of time or force; but Jupiter having struck the inhabitants with fear, it was taken.

From this place they made, in one day's march, four parasangs. During their march Tissaphernes appeared with his own horse, and the forces of Orontas, who had married the king's daughter, together with those Barbarians who had served under Cyrus in his expedition. To these was added the army which the king's brother had brought to his assistance, and the troops the king had given him. All these together made a vast army. When he approached, he placed some of his forces against our rear, and others against each of our flanks, but durst not attack us, being unwilling to hazard a battle: however, he ordered his men to use their slings and bows. But when the Rhodians, who were disposed

nuse will contain seven hundred feet, the square of which will consequently be equal to the square of the two other sides. If, therefore, from four hundred and ninety thousand, the square of seven hundred, you deduct one hundred and twenty-two thousand five hundred, the square of three hundred and fifty, of which the base consists, there will remain three hundred and sixty-seven thousand five hundred for the square of the perpendicular, the square root of which will be six hundred and six, with a fraction of two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven; so that the perpendicular height of an equilateral pyramid, the base of which is seven hundred feet, will be six hundred and six feet, with that fraction

in platoons, began to make use of their slings, and the Cretan bowmen, in imitation of the Scythians, discharged their arrows, none of them missing the enemy, which they could not easily have done, though they had endeavoured it, both Tissaphernes himself quickly got out of their reach, and the other divisions retired. The remaining part of the day the Greeks continued their march, and the others followed without harassing them any more with skirmishes: for the slings of the Rhodians not only carried farther than those of the Persians, but even than most of the archers could throw their arrows. The Persian bows are long, so that their arrows, when gathered up, were of service to the Cretans, who continued to make use of them, and accustomed themselves to take a great elevation, in order to shoot them to a greater distance. Besides, there were found a considerable quantity of bowstrings in the villages, and some lead, both which were employed for the slings.

This day, after the Greeks were encamped in the villages, the Barbarians, having suffered in the skirmish, retired. The next day the Greeks staid where they were, and took in provisions: for there was plenty of corn in the villages. The day after they marched over the open country, and Tissaphernes followed, harassing them at a distance. On this occasion the Greeks observed that an equilateral square was not a proper disposition for an army when pursued by the enemy; for whenever the square has a narrow road, a defile between hills, or a bridge to pass, the wings must close, and consequently the heavy-armed men be forced out of their ranks, and march uneasily, being both pressed together and disordered; so that of necessity they become useless for want of order. On the other hand, when the wings come to be again extended, the men who before were forced out of their ranks must divide, and consequently leave an opening in the centre, which very

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much disheartens those who are thus exposed, when the enemy is at their heels. Besides when they have a bridge or any other defile to pass, every man is in a hurry, wanting to be first, on which occasion the enemy has a fair opportunity of attacking them. After the generals had discovered this they formed six companies of one hundred men each, whom they subdivided into others of fifty, and these again into others of twenty-five, and appointed officers to all of them. The captains of these companies on a march, when the wings closed, staid behind so as not to disorder the rear, they at that time marching clear of the wings. And when the sides of the square came to be again extended they then filled up the centre, if the opening was narrow, with the companies of one hundred men each; if larger, with those of fifty; and if very large, with those of five-and-twenty; so that the centre was always full. If, therefore, the army were to pass any defile or bridge there was no confusion, the captains of these several companies bringing up the rear; and if a detachment were wanted on any occasion, these were always at hand. In this disposition they made four marches.

While they were on their march the fifth day, they saw a palace and many villages lying round it. The road which led to this palace lay over high hills that reached down from the mountain, under which there stood a village. The Greeks were rejoiced to see these hills, and with great reason, the enemy's forces consisting of horse. But after they had left the plain and ascended the first hill, while they were descending thence in order to climb the next, the Barbarians appeared, and from the eminence showered down on them, under the scourge, darts, stones, and arrows. They wounded many, and had the advantage over the Greek light-armed men, forcing them to retire within the body of the heavy armed; so that the slingers and archers were that day entirely useless, being mixed with those who had charge of the bag-

gage. And when the Greeks, being thus pressed, endeavoured to pursue the enemy, as they were heavy-armed men, they moved slowly to the top of the mountain, while the enemy retreated; and when the Greeks retired to their main body, the same thing happened to them again. They found the same difficulty in passing the second hill; so that they determined not to order out the heavy-armed men for the third hill; but instead of that, brought up the targeteers to the top of the mountain from the right of the square. When these were got above the enemy, they no longer molested our men in their descent, fearing to be cut off from their own body, and that we should attack them on both sides. In this manner we marched the rest of the day, some in the road on the hills, and others abreast of them on the mountain, till we came to the villages when eight surgeons<sup>1</sup> were appointed, for there were many wounded.

Here they staid three days, both on account of the wounded, and because they found plenty of provisions, as wheat-meal, wine, and a great quantity of barley for horses; all which was laid up for the satrap of the country. The fourth day they descended into the plain, where, when Tissaphernes had overtaken them with the army under his command, he taught them how necessary it was to encamp in the first village they came to, and to march no longer fighting; for some being wounded, some employed in carrying those that were so, and others in carrying the arms of the latter, great numbers were not in a condition to fight. But when they were encamped, and the Barbarians, coming up to the village, offered to skirmish, the Greeks had greatly

1 I have said surgeons instead of physicians, because both professions being anciently exercised by the same persons, they were chiefly employed as surgeons on this occasion. There are two verses in Homer, on Machaon's being wounded by Paris, which show both the great regard that was paid to the profession, and that surgery, as I said, was a branch of it.

the advantage of them ; for they found a great difference between sallying from their camp to-repuls the enemy, and being obliged to march fighting whenever they were attacked. When the evening approached, it was time for the Barbarians to retire ; because they never encamped at a less distance from the Greeks than sixty stadia, for fear these should fall on them in the night ; a Persian army being then subject to great inconveniences ; for their horses are tied, and generally shackled, to prevent them from running away ; and if an alarm happens, a Persian has the housing to fix, his horse to bridle, and his corslet to put on, before he can mount. All these things cannot be done in the night without great difficulty, particularly if there is an alarm. For this reason they always encamped at a distance from the Greeks. When these perceived they designed to retire, and that the word was given, they, in the enemy's hearing, received orders to make ready to march ; on which the Barbarians made a halt ; but when it grew late they departed ; for they did not hold it expedient to march and arrive at their camp in the night.

When the Greeks plainly saw they were retired, they also decamped, and marching away, advanced about sixty stadia. The two armies were now at so great a distance from one another, that the enemy did not appear either the next day or the day after. But on the fourth, the Barbarians, having got before the Greeks in the night, possessed themselves of an eminence that commanded the road through which the Greeks were to pass. It was the brow of a hill, under which lay the descent into the plain. As soon as Chirisophus saw this eminence possessed by the enemy, he sent for Xenophon from the rear, and desired him to bring up the targeteers to the front. Xenophon did not take these with him, for he saw Tissaphernes advancing with his whole army, but riding up to him himself, said, "Why do you send for me?" Chirisophus answered, "You see the

enemy have possessed themselves of the nill that commands the descent, and unless we dislodge them, it is not possible for us to pass: but," added he, "why did you not bring the targeteers with you?" Xenophon replied, because he did not think proper to leave the rear naked, when the enemy was in sight: "but," says he, "it is high time to consider how we shall dislodge those men." Here Xenophon, observing the top of the mountain that was above their own army, found there was a passage from that to the hill where the enemy was posted. On this he said, "O Chirisophus! I think the best thing we can do is to gain the top of this mountain-as soon as possible; for if we are once masters of that, the enemy cannot maintain themselves on the hill. Do you stay with the army; if you think fit, I will go up to the hill; or, do you go, if you desire it, and I will stay here." Chirisophus answered, "I give you your choice." To this Xenophon replied, that as he was the younger man, he chose to go; but desired he would send with him some troops from the front, since it would take a great deal of time to bring up a detachment from the rear. So Chirisophus sent the targeteers that were in the front: Xenophon also took those that were in the middle of the square. Besides these, Chirisophus ordered the three hundred chosen men who attended on himself in the front of the square to follow him.

After that they marched with all possible expedition. The enemy who were on the hill, the moment they saw them climb the mountain, advanced at the same time, striving to get there before them. On this occasion there was a vast shout raised both by the Greek army and that of Tissaphernes, each encouraging their own men. And Xenophon, riding by the side of his troops, called out to them, "Soldiers, think you are this minute contending to return to Greece—this minute to see your wives and children. After this momentary labour, we shall go on without a

further opposition." To whom Soteridas the Sicynian said, "We are not on equal terms, O Xenophon! for you are on horseback, while I am greatly fatigued with carrying my shield." Xenophon, hearing this, leaped from his horse, and thrust him out of his rank; then taking his shield, marched on as fast as he could. He happened to have a horseman's corslet on at that time, which was very troublesome. However, he called to those who were before to mend their pace, and to those behind, who followed with great difficulty, to come up. The rest of the soldiers beat and abused Soteridas, and threw stones at him, till they obliged him to take his shield and go on. Then Xenophon remounted, and led them on horseback as far as the way would allow; and when it became impassable for his horse he hastened forward on foot. At last they gained the top of the mountain, and prevented the enemy.

V. On this the Barbarians turned their backs, and fled every one as he could, and the Greeks remained masters of the eminence. Tissaphernes and Ariæus, with their men, turning out of the road, went another way, while Chrisophus with his forces came down into the plain, and encamped in a village abounding in every thing. There were also many other villages in this plain, near the Tigris, full of all sorts of provisions. In the evening, the enemy appeared on a sudden in the plain, and cut off some of the Greeks, who were dispersed in plundering; for many herds of cattle were taken as the people of the country were endeavouring to make them pass the river. Here Tissaphernes and his army attempted to set fire to the villages; whereby some of the Greeks were disheartened, from the apprehension of wanting provisions if he burned them. About this time Chrisophus and his men came back from relieving their companions, and Xenophon, being come down into the plain, and riding through the ranks, after the Greeks were returned, said, "You see, O Greeks. the enemy

already acknowledge the country to be ours; for when they made peace with us, they stipulated that we should not burn the country belonging to the king, and now they set fire to it themselves, as if they looked on it no longer as their own. But wherever they leave any provisions for themselves, thither also they shall see us direct our march. But, O Chiriso-phus, I think we ought to attack these incendiaries, as in defence of our country." Chiriso-phus answered, "I am not of that opinion. On the contrary, let us set fire to it ourselves, and by that means they will give over the sooner."

When they came to their tents, the soldiers employed themselves in getting provisions, and the generals and captains assembled, and were in great perplexity, for on one side of them were exceeding high mountains, and on the other a river so deep that when they sounded it with their pikes the ends of them did not even appear above the water. While they were in this perplexity, a certain Rhodian came to them and said, "Friends, I will undertake to carry over four thousand heavy-armed men at a time, if you will supply me with what I want, and give me a talent for my pains." Being asked what he wanted, "I shall want," says he, "two thousand leathern bags. I see here great numbers of sheep, goats, oxen, and asses; if these are flayed, and their skins blown, we may easily pass the river with them. I shall also want the girths belonging to the sumpter horses: with these," added he, "I will fasten the bags to one another, and hanging stones to them, let them down into the water instead of anchors, then tie up the bags at both ends, and when they are on the water, lay fascines on them and cover them with earth. I will make you presently sensible," continued he, "that you cannot sink, for every bag will bear up two men, and the fascines and the earth will prevent them from slipping."

The generals, hearing this, thought the invention



ingenious, but impossible to be put in practice, there being great numbers of horse on the other side of the river to oppose their passage, and these would at once break all their measures. The next day the army turned back again, taking a different road from that which leads to Babylon, and marched to the villages that were not burned, setting fire to those they abandoned, insomuch that the enemy did not ride up to them, but looked on, wondering which way the Greeks meant to take, and what their intention was. Here, while the soldiers were employed in getting provisions, the generals and captains reassembled, and ordering the prisoners to be brought in, inquired concerning every country that lay round them. The prisoners informed them that there was to the south a road that led to Babylon and Media, through which they came: another to the east, leading to Susa and Ecbatana, where the king is said to pass the summer and the spring; a third to the west over the Tigris, to Lydia and Ionia; and that the road which lay over the mountains to the north led to the Carduchians. This people, they said, inhabited those mountains, and that they were a warlike nation, and not subject to the king: and that once the king's army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, penetrated into their country, whence not one of them returned, the roads being hardly passable. But that whenever there was a peace subsisting between them and the governor residing in the plain there was an intercourse between the two nations.

The generals, hearing this, kept those prisoners by themselves from whom they received the intelligence of each country, without discovering what route they designed to take. However, they found there was a necessity to pass the mountains, and penetrate into the country of the Carduchians: for the prisoners informed them, that as soon as they had passed through it, they should arrive in Armenia, which was

a spacious and plentiful country, and of which Orontas was governor: whence they might without difficulty march which way they pleased. On this they offered sacrifice, to the end that when they found it convenient they might depart, for they were afraid the pass over the mountains might be possessed by the enemy, and commanded the soldiers, as soon as they had supped, to get their baggage ready, then all to go to rest, and march on the first order.

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## BOOK IV.

CHAP. I. WE have hitherto given an account of what happened in the expedition of Cyrus to the time of the battle; of what happened after the battle, during the truce concluded between the king and the Greeks who had served under Cyrus; and in what manner, after the king and Tissaphernes had broken the truce, the Greeks were harassed, while they were followed by the Persian army.

When the Greeks came to the place where the river Tigris is, both from its depth and breadth, absolutely impassable, and no road appeared, the craggy mountains of the Carduchians hanging over the river the generals resolved to march over those mountains; for they were informed by the prisoners, that after they had passed them, they would have it in their power to cross the head of the Tigris, in Armenia, if they thought proper; if not, to go round it. The source of the Euphrates<sup>1</sup> also was said not to be far distant from that of the Tigris: and indeed the distance between these two rivers is in some

<sup>1</sup> Strabo informs us that the Euphrates and Tigris both rise out of Mount Taurus, the former on the north of it, and the latter on the south, and that the sources of these rivers are distant from one another above two thousand five hundred stadia.

places but small. To the end, therefore, that the enemy might not be acquainted with their design of penetrating into the country of the Carduchians, and defeat it by possessing themselves of the eminences, they executed it in the following manner: when it was about the last watch, and so much of the night was left as to allow them to traverse the plain while it was yet dark, they decamped; and marching when the order was given, came to the mountain by break of day. Chirisophus commanded the vanguard with his own people, and all the light-armed men; and Xenophon brought up the rear with the heavy-armed, having none of the light-armed, because there seemed no danger of the enemy's attacking their rear while they were marching up the mountain. Chirisophus gained the top before he was perceived by the enemy: then led forward; and the rest of the army, as fast as they passed the summit, followed him into the villages that lay dispersed in the valleys and recesses of the mountains.

On this the Carduchians left their houses, and with their wives and children fled to the hills, where they had an opportunity of supplying themselves with provisions in abundance. The houses were well furnished with all sorts of brass utensils, which the Greeks forbore to plunder: neither did they pursue the inhabitants, in hope, by sparing them, to prevail on the Carduchians, since they were enemies to the king, to conduct them through their country in a friendly manner: but they took all the provisions they met with, for they were compelled to it by necessity. However, the Carduchians paid no regard to their invitations, nor showed any other symptoms of a friendly disposition; and when the rear of the Greek army was descending from the top of the mountains into the villages, it being now dark, for as the way was narrow, they spent the whole day in the ascent of the mountains, and the descent from thence into the villages, some of the Carduchians

gathering together, attacked the hindmost, and killed and wounded some of them with stones and arrows. They were but few in number, for the Greek army came on them unawares. Had the enemy been more numerous at that time great part of the army had been in danger. In this manner they passed the night in the villages: the Carduchians made fires all round them on the mountains, and both had their eyes on each other.

As soon as it was day, the generals and the captains of the Greeks assembled, and resolved to reserve only those sumpter horses on their march that were necessary and most able, and to leave the rest, and dismiss all the slaves they had newly taken; for the great number of sumpter horses and slaves retarded their march; and many of their men, by having charge of these, were unfit for action. Besides, there being so many to feed, they were under a necessity of providing and carrying double the quantity of provisions. This being resolved, they gave orders to have it put in execution.

While, therefore, they were on their march after dinner, the generals placed themselves in a narrow pass, and whatever they found reserved by the soldiers, contrary to order, they took away; and the men submitted, unless any of them happened privately to have retained some beautiful woman he was fond of. In this manner they marched that day, sometimes fighting, and sometimes resting themselves. The next day there was a great storm: however, they were obliged to go on; for their provisions failed them. Chirisophus led the van, and Xenophon brought up the rear. Here, the ways being narrow, the enemy made a brisk attack on them, and coming up close discharged their arrows, and made use of their slings: so that the Greeks, sometimes pursuing, and sometimes retreating, were obliged to march slowly: and Xenophon often ordered the army to halt when the enemy pressed

hard on them. On one of these orders Chrisophus, who used to stand still on the like occasions, did not stop, but marched faster than usual, and ordered the men to follow. By this it appeared there was something extraordinary; but they were not at leisure to send to him to inquire the cause of this haste; so that the march of those in the rear had the resemblance more of a flight than a retreat. Here fell a brave man Cleonymus, a Lacedæmonian, who was wounded in the side by an arrow, that made its way both through his shield and his coat-of-mail. Here also fell Basias an Arcadian, whose head was pierced quite through with an arrow. When they arrived at the place where they designed to encamp, Xenophon immediately went as he was to Chiriosophus, and blamed him for not stopping, but obliging the rear to fly and fight at the same time. "Here we have lost two brave and worthy men," said he, "without being able either to bring them off or to bury them." To this Chiriosophus answered, "Cast your eyes on those mountains, and observe how impassable they all are. You see there is but one road, and that a steep one. It is, you may observe, possessed too by a great multitude of men, who stand ready to defend it. For this reason I marched hastily, without staying for you, that if possible I might prevent the enemy, and make myself master of the pass; for our guides assure us there is no other road." Xenophon replied, "I have two prisoners; for when the enemy molested us in our march we placed some men in ambush, which gave us time to breathe, and having killed some of them, we were also desirous of taking some alive, with this view, that we might have guides who were acquainted with the country."

23. The prisoners, therefore, being brought before them, they questioned them separately whether they knew of any other road than that which lay before them. One of them said he knew no other, though

e was threatened with divers kinds of torture. As he said nothing to the purpose, he was put to death in the presence of the other. The survivor said this man pretended he did not know the other road because he had a daughter married to a man who lived there; but that he himself would undertake to conduct us through a road that was passable even for the sumpter horses. Being asked whether there was any difficult pass in that road, he said there was a summit, which if not secured in time would render the passage impracticable. On this it was thought proper to assemble the captains, the targeteers, and some of the heavy-armed men; and having informed them how matters stood, to ask them whether any of them would show their gallantry, and voluntarily undertake this service. Two of the heavy-armed men offered themselves, Aristonymus of Methyria, and Agasias of Stymphalus, both Arcadians. But Callimachus of Parrhasia, an Arcadian, and Agasias, had a contest who should undertake it. The latter said that he would go, and take with him volunteers out of the whole army. "For I am well assured," said he, "if I have the command, many of the youth will follow me." After that they asked if any of the light-armed men, or of their officers, would also be of the party. On which Aristetas of Chios presented himself. He had, on many occasions of this nature, done great service to the army.

II. The day was now far advanced; so the generals ordered these to eat something and set out, and delivered the guide to them bound. It was agreed that if they made themselves masters of the summit, they should make it good that night, and as soon as it was day give them notice of it by sounding a trumpet; and that those above should charge that body of the enemy that was posted in the passage that lay before them, while those below marched up to their assistance with all the expedition they were able. When things were thus ordered they set for-

ward, being about two thousand in number. And notwithstanding it rained most violently, Xenophon marched at the head of the rear-guard towards the passage before them, in order to draw the attention of the enemy that way, and conceal as much as possible the march of the detachment. When Xenophon with the rear-guard came to a valley which they went to pass, in order to climb the ascent, the Barbarians rolled down vast round stones, some a ton in weight, as well as others both larger and smaller. These being dashed against the rocks in their fall, the splinters were hurled<sup>1</sup> every way, which made it absolutely impossible to approach the road. Some of the captains, despairing to gain this passage, endeavoured to find out another, and employed themselves in this manner till it was dark. When they imagined they could retire without being seen, they went away to get their supper; for the rear-guard had not dined that day. However, the enemy continued to roll down stones all night, as was perceived by the noise they made in their fall. In the mean time those who marched round with the guide surprised the enemy's guard as they were sitting round a fire; and having killed some of them, and forced others down the precipice, they staid there, thinking they had made themselves masters of the summit. But in this they were mistaken, for there was still an eminence above them, near which lay the

<sup>1</sup> This word happily expresses the impetuous dispersion of the splinters, when the stones were shattered by falling against the rocks. There is a passage in Euripides where this word without the preposition is very beautifully, or rather dreadfully, made use of to express the scattering of the limbs of Capaneus, when he was dashed to pieces by a thunderbolt, just as he was scaling the battlements of Thebes.

“ While o'er the battlements Capaneus sprung,  
 Jove struck him with his thunder, and the earth  
 Resounded with the crack; meanwhile mankind  
 Stood all aghast; from off the ladder's height  
 His limbs were far asunder hurl'd, his hair  
 Flew towards Olympus, to the ground his blood,  
 His hands and feet whirl'd like Ixion's wheel,  
 The earth his flaming body fell.”

narrow way, where the guard watched. There was indeed a passage from the post they had taken to that the enemy were possessed of in the open road. Here they remained that night.

As soon as it was day they put themselves in order, and marched in silence against the enemy; and there being a mist, came close to them before they were perceived. When they saw one another, the trumpet sounded, and the Greeks, shouting, made their attack. However, the Barbarians did not stand to receive them, but quitted the road, very few of them being killed in the flight, for they were prepared for expedition. Chirisophus and his men, hearing the trumpet, immediately marched up the passage which lay before them. The rest of the generals took by-paths, each of them where he happened to be, and climbing as well as they could, drew up one another with their pikes; and these were the first who joined the detachment that had gained the post. Xenophon with one half of the rear-guard marched up the same way those went who had the guide, this road being the most convenient for the sumpter horses; the other half he ordered to come up behind the baggage. In their march they came to a hill commanding the road, which was possessed by the enemy, whom they were to dislodge, otherwise they would be separated from the rest of the Greeks. The men indeed might have gone the same way the rest took, but the sumpter horses could go no other. Encouraging, therefore, one another, they made their attack on the hill in columns, not surrounding it, but leaving the enemy room to run away, if they were so disposed. Accordingly, the Barbarians seeing our men marching up the hill, every one where he could, without discharging either their arrows or their darts on those who approached the road, fled, and quitted the place. The Greeks, having marched by this hill, saw another before them also possessed by the enemy. This they resolved to attack likewise; but



Xenophon considering that if he left the hill they had already taken without a guard, the enemy might repossess it, and from thence annoy the sumpter horses as they passed by them; for the way being narrow, there was a long file of them: he therefore left on this hill Cephisodorus, the son of Cephisophon, an Athenian, and Archagoras, a banished Argive, both captains; while he with the rest marched to the second hill, and took that also in the same manner. There yet remained a third, by much the steepest. This was the eminence that commanded the spot where the guard was surprised at the fire the night before by the detachment. When the Greeks approached the hill the Barbarians quitted it without striking a stroke: so that everybody was surprised, and suspected they left the place, fearing to be surrounded and besieged in it. But the truth was, that seeing from the eminence what passed behind, they all made haste away with a design to fall on the rear.

Xenophon with the youngest of his men ascended to the top of this hill, and ordered the rest to march slowly after, that the two captains who were left behind might join them; and that when they were all together, they should choose some even place in the road, and there stand to their arms. He had no sooner given his orders than Archagoras, the Argive, came flying from the enemy, and brought an account that they were driven from the first hill, and that Cephisodorus and Amphicrates, and all the rest who had not leaped from the rock and joined the rear were slain. The Barbarians after this advantage came to the hill opposite to that where Xenophon stood; and Xenophon treated with them by an interpreter concerning a truce, and demanded the dead. They consented to deliver them up, provided he agreed not to burn their villages. Xenophon consented to this. While the other part of the army approached, and these were employed in treating

all the men moved from the post they were in towards the same place. On this the enemy made a stand, and when the Greeks began to descend from the top of the hill to join those who were drawn up in order of battle, they advanced in great numbers, and with tumult; and after they had gained the top of the hill which Xenophon had quitted, they rolled down stones, and broke the leg of one of our men. Here Xenophon's armour-bearer deserted him, taking away his shield: but Eurylochus of Lusian, an Arcadian, and one of the heavy-armed men, ran to his relief, and covered both himself and Xenophon with his shield, while the rest joined those who stood ready drawn up.

And now the Greeks were all together, and quartered there in many fine houses, where they found provisions in abundance; for there was so great a plenty of wine that they kept it in plastered cisterns. Here Xenophon and Chirisophus prevailed on the Barbarians to deliver up their dead in exchange for the guide. These, as far as they were able, they buried with all the honours that are due to the memory of brave men. The next day they marched without a guide, and the enemy, both by fighting with them and seizing all the passes, endeavoured to hinder them from advancing. Whenever, therefore, they opposed the vanguard, Xenophon, ascending the mountains from behind, endeavoured to gain some post that commanded the enemy, and by this means opened a passage for those who were in the van; and when they attacked the rear, Chirisophus ascended the hills, and endeavouring to get above the enemy, removed the obstruction they gave to the march of the rear. Thus they were very attentive to relieve one another. Sometimes also the Barbarians, after the Greeks had ascended the eminences, gave them great disturbance in their descent, for they were very nimble; and though they came near to our men, yet still they got off, having no other

arms but bows and slings. They were very skilful archers; their bows were near three cubits in length, and their arrows above two. When they discharged their arrows, they drew the string by pressing on the lower part of the bow with their left foot. These arrows pierced through the shields and corselets of our men, who, taking them up, made use of them instead of darts, by fixing thongs to them. In these places the Cretans were of great service. They were commanded by Stratocles, a Cretan.

III. This day they staid in the villages situate above the plain that extends to the river Centrites, which is two hundred feet broad, and the boundary between Armenia and the country of the Carduchians. Here the Greeks rested themselves. This river is about six or seven stadia from the Carduchian mountains. Here, therefore, they staid with great satisfaction, having plenty of provisions, and often calling to mind the difficulties they had undergone; for during the seven days they had marched through the country of the Carduchians they were continually fighting, and suffered more than from all the attempts of the king and Tissaphernes. Looking on themselves, therefore, as freed from these hardships, they rested with pleasure. But as soon as it was day they saw a body of horse on the other side of the river, completely armed, and ready to oppose their passage; and above the horse another of foot drawn up on an eminence, to hinder them from penetrating into Armenia. These were Armenians, Mygdonians, and Chaldæans, all mercenary troops, belonging to Orontas and Artuchus. The Chaldæans were said to be a free people and warlike; their arms were long shields and spears. The eminence on which they were drawn up was about three or four hundred feet from the river. The only road the Greeks could discover led upwards, and seemed to have been made by art. Over-against this road the Greeks endeavoured to pass the river; but on trial they

found the water came up above their breasts; that the river was rendered uneven by large slippery stones; and that it was not possible for them to hold their arms in the water; which if they attempted, they were borne away by the stream; and if they carried them on their heads, they were exposed to the arrows and the other missive weapons of the enemy. They retired, therefore, and encamped on the banks of the river.

From hence they discovered a great number of armed Carduchians, who were got together on the mountain, in the very place where they had encamped the night before. Here the Greeks were very much disheartened, seeing on one side of them a river hardly passable, and the banks of it covered with troops to obstruct their passage, and on the other the Carduchians ready to fall on their rear, if they attempted it. This day, therefore, and the following night they remained in the same place under great perplexity. Here Xenophon had a dream: he thought he was in chains, and that his chains breaking asunder of their own accord, he found himself at liberty and went to whatsoever place he pleased. As soon as the first dawn of day appeared he went to Chirisophus, and told him he was in hopes every thing would be well, and acquainted him with his dream. Chirisophus was pleased to hear it: and while the morn advanced, all the generals who were present offered sacrifice, and the very first victims were favourable. As soon, therefore, as the sacrifice was over, the generals and captains departing ordered the soldiers to breakfast. While Xenophon was at breakfast two young men came to him, for it was well known that all persons might have free access to him at his meals; and that were he even asleep they might awake him, if they had any thing to communicate concerning the operations of the war. These youths informed him, that while they were getting brushwood for the fire, they saw on the other side of the river, among the rocks

that reached down to it, an old man and a woman with some maid-servants hiding something that looked like bags full of clothes in the hollow of a rock. That seeing this, they thought they might securely pass the river, because the place was inaccessible to the enemy's horse. So they undressed themselves, and taking their naked daggers in their hands proposed to swim over; but the river being fordable, they found themselves on the other side before the river came up to their middle, and having taken the clothes, repassed it.

Xenophon, hearing this, made a libation himself, and ordered wine to be given to the youths to do the same, and that they should address their prayers to the gods who had sent the dream, and discovered the passage to complete their happiness. After the libation he immediately carried the two youths to Chirisophus, to whom they gave the same account. Chirisophus, hearing this, made libations also. After that they gave orders to the soldiers to get their baggage ready. Then assembling the generals, they consulted with them in what manner they should pass the river with most advantage, and both overcome those who opposed them in front, and secure themselves against the others who threatened their rear. And it was resolved that Chirisophus should lead the van, and pass over with one half of the army, while the other staid with Xenophon; and that the sumpter horses, with all those that attended the army, should pass in the middle. After this disposition was made they began their march. The two youths led the way, keeping the river on their left. They had about four stadia to go before they came to the ford.

As they marched on one side of the river several bodies of horse advanced on the other opposite to them. When they came to the ford, and to the bank of the river, the men stood to their arms, and first Chirisophus, with a garland on his head, pulled off

his clothes, and taking his arms, commanded all the rest to do the same: he then ordered the captains to draw up their companies in columns, and march some on his left hand and some on his right. In the mean time the priests offered sacrifice, and poured the blood of the victims into the river; and the enemy, from their bows and slings, discharged a volley of arrows and stones, but none of them reached our men. After the victims appeared favourable, all the soldiers sung the pæan and shouted; all the women answering them, for there were many in the army.

Immediately Chirisophus with his men went into the river; and Xenophon, taking those of the rear-guard who were most prepared for expedition, marched back in all haste to the passage opposite to the road that led to the Armenian mountains, making a feint as if his design was to pass the river in that place, and intercept the horse that were marching along the bank of it. The enemy, seeing Chirisophus with his men passing the river with great ease, and Xenophon with his forces marching back in all haste, were afraid of being intercepted, and fled with precipitation to the road that led from the river up into the country. Having gained that road, they continued their march up the mountains. As soon as Lycius, who had the command of the horse, and Æschines, who commanded the targeteers belonging to Chirisophus, saw the enemy flying with so much haste they pursued them, the rest of the soldiers crying out to them that they would not be left behind, but would march up the mountain in a body. When Chirisophus had passed the river with his forces, he did not pursue the horse, but marched along the bank against the other body of the enemy that was posted on the upper ground. These finding themselves abandoned by their horse, and seeing our heavy-armed men coming up to attack them, quitted the eminence that commanded the river.

Xenophon, therefore, perceiving every thing went well on the other side, returned in all haste to the army that was passing over; for by this time the Carduchians were seen descending into the plain, as if they designed to fall on the rear. Chirisophus had now possessed himself of the eminence, and Lycius, while he was pursuing the enemy with a few of his men, took part of their baggage that was left behind, and in it rich apparel and drinking cups. The baggage of the Greeks, with those who had charge of it, was yet passing; when Xenophon, facing about, drew up his men against the Carduchians. He ordered all the captains to divide their several companies into two distinct bodies of twenty-five men each, and to extend their front to the left, and that the captains with the leaders of these distinct bodies should march against the Carduchians, while the hindmost men of every file posted themselves on the bank of the river.

Now the Carduchians, when they saw the rear reduced to a few by the departure of those who had the charge of the baggage, advanced the faster, singing as they came on. On this Chirisophus, seeing all on his side was secure, sent the targeteers, the slingers, and archers to Xenophon, with directions to do whatever he commanded: but he, as soon as he saw them coming down the hill, sent a messenger to them with orders to halt as soon as they came to the river; and that when they saw him begin to pass it with his men they should come forward in the water on each side opposite to him, the darters with their fingers in the slings of their darts, and the archers with their arrows on the string, as if they designed to pass over, but not advance far into the river. At the same time he ordered his own men, when they came near enough to the enemy to reach them with their slings, and the heavy-armed men struck their shields with their pikes, to sing the psalm and rush at once on the enemy: and when they were

put to flight, and the trumpet from the river sounded a charge to face about to the right, and that the hindmost men of every file should lead the way, and all make what haste they could to the river, which they were to pass in their ranks, that they might not hinder one another; telling them that he should look on him as the bravest man who first reached the opposite side.

The Carduchians, seeing those who remained but few in number (for many even of those who had orders to stay were gone, some to take care of the sumpter horses, some of their baggage, and others of other things), came up boldly towards them, and began to use their slings and bows. But when the Greeks, singing the pæan, ran forward to attack them, they did not stand to receive them; for though they were well enough armed for a sudden onset and retreat on the mountains they inhabited, yet they were not all so to fight hand to hand. In the mean time the trumpet sounded, on which the enemy fled much faster than before; and the Greeks, facing about, passed the river in all haste. Some of the enemy seeing this ran back to the river, and wounded a few of our men with their arrows; but many of them, even when the Greeks were on the other side, were observed to continue their flight. In the mean time those who had met them in the river, carried on by their courage, advanced unseasonably, and repassed it after Xenophon and his men were on the other side; by this means some of them were wounded.

IV. The army, having passed the river about noon, drew up in their ranks, and in this manner marched at once over the plain of Armenia, intermixed with hills of an easy ascent, making no less than five parasangs; for there were no villages near the river, by reason of the continual wars with the Carduchians. However, at last they came to a large village that had a palace in it belonging to



the satrap, and on most of the houses there were turrets: here they found provisions in abundance. From this place they made in two days' march ten parasangs, till they were advanced above the head of the Tigris. From thence they made fifteen parasangs in three days' march, and came to the river Teleboas. The river, though not large, was beautiful, and had many fine villages on its banks: this country was called the western part of Armenia. The governor of it was Teribazus, who had behaved himself with great fidelity to the king; and when he was present no other lifted the king on horseback.<sup>1</sup> This person rode up towards the Greeks with a body of horse, and sending his interpreter, acquainted them that he desired to speak with their commanders. On this the generals thought proper to hear what he had to say, and advancing within hearing, asked him what he wanted. He answered that he was willing to enter into a league with them on these terms: that he should not do any injury to the Greeks, or they burn the houses, but have liberty to take what provisions they wanted. The generals agreed to this: so they concluded a league on these conditions.

From thence they advanced through a plain, and in three days' march made fifteen parasangs, Teribazus following them with his forces at the distance of about ten stadia, when they came to a palace surrounded with many villages, abounding in all sorts of provisions. While they lay encamped in this place there fell so much snow<sup>2</sup> in the night, that

<sup>1</sup> I was desirous to excuse D'Abblancourt, when in the third book he made the Persians saddle their horses; but do not know what to allege in his defence on this occasion, where he has given them stirrups as well as saddles.

<sup>2</sup> Lest the veracity of our author should be suspected, when he speaks of deep snows and excessive frosts in Armenia, a country lying between the fortieth and forty-third degrees of latitude, I desire it may be considered that all authors, both ancient and modern, agree that the hills of this country are covered with snow ten months in the year. Tournefort, who was an eyewitness of it, thinks that the earth on these hills being impregnated with sal ammoniac, the cold occasioned by it may

it was resolved the next morning the soldiers with their generals should remove into the villages and quarter there, for no enemy appeared; and the great quantity of snow seemed a security to them. Here they found all sorts of good provisions, such as cattle, corn, old wines exceeding fragrant, raisins, and legumens of all kinds. In the mean time some of the men who had straggled from the camp brought word that they had seen an army, and that in the night many fires appeared. For this reason the generals thought it not safe for the troops to quarter in the villages at a distance from one another; so resolved to bring the army together. On this they reassembled, and determined to encamp in the open air. While they passed the night in this camp there fell so great a quantity of snow, that it covered both the arms and the men as they lay on the ground; the sumpter horses also were so benumbed with the snow that it was with difficulty they were made to rise. It was a miserable sight to see the men lie on the ground still covered with snow. But when Xenophon was so hardy as to rise naked, and rive wood, immediately another got up, and taking the wood from him, cleft it himself. On this they all rose up, and making fires, anointed themselves; for they found there many sorts of ointments, which served them instead of oil; as hogs' grease, oil of

hinder the snow from melting. To support this, he says that this salt being dissolved in any liquor renders it excessively cold. This puts me in mind of an experiment mentioned by Boerhaave as having been made by himself: he says, that four ounces of this salt being infused in twelve of water generated twenty-eight degrees of cold; though I rather believe that the reason why the tops of mountains in the warmest climates are generally covered with snow, while the plains below are often parched with heat, is because the atmosphere is vastly less compressed on the top than at the foot of those mountains. Whatever may be the cause, the fact is certain. When Lucullus, in his expedition against Mithridates, marched through Armenia, his army suffered as much by the frost and snow as the Greeks under Xenophon. And when Alexander Severus returned through this country, many of his men lost their hands and feet through excessive cold. Tournefort also complains that at though situated in a plain, his fingers were so benumbed w could not write till an hour after sunrise.

I.—M

sesame, of bitter almonds, and of turpentine. There was also found a precious ointment made of all these.

After this they determined to disperse themselves again in the villages, and quarter under cover. On which the soldiers ran with great shouts and pleasure to the houses and provisions: but those who had set fire to the houses when they left them before, were justly punished by encamping, being so exposed to the weather. From hence they sent that night a detachment to the mountains where the stragglers said they had seen the fires, under the command of Democrates of Temenus, because he was ever thought to give a true account of things of this nature, reporting matters as they really were. At his return he said he had seen no fires; but having taken a prisoner, he brought him with him. This man had a Persian bow and quiver, and an Amazonian battle-axe; and being asked of what country he was, he said he was a Persian, and that he went from the army of Teribazus to get provisions. On this they asked him of what numbers that army consisted and with what intention it was assembled. He answered, that Teribazus, besides his own army, had mercenary troops of Chalybians and Taochians; and that his design was to attack the Greeks in their passage over the mountains as they marched through the defile, which was their only road.

The generals, hearing this, resolved to assemble the army, and leaving a guard in the camp under the command of Sophænetus of Stymphalus, they immediately set forward, taking the prisoner with them for their guide. After they had passed the mountains the targeteers, who marched before the rest, as soon as they discovered the enemy's camp, ran to it with shouts, without staying for the heavy-armed men. The Barbarians, hearing the tumult, did not stand their ground, but fled. However, some of them were killed, and about twenty horses taken, as was also

the tent of Teribazus, in which they found beds with silver feet, and drinking cups, with some who said they were his bakers and cupbearers. When the commanders of the heavy-armed men were informed of all that passed, they determined to return in all haste to their own camp, lest any attempt should be made on those they had left there; and immediately ordering a retreat to be sounded, they returned, and arrived there the same day.

V. The next day they resolved to march away with all the haste they could before the enemy should rally their forces and possess themselves of the pass. Their baggage therefore being presently ready, they set forward through a deep snow with many guides; and having the same day passed the eminence on which Teribazus designed to attack them, they encamped. From thence they made three marches through a desert, and came to the Euphrates, which they passed, the water coming up to their middle. It was said the sources of this river were not far off. From thence they made in three days' march fifteen parasangs, over a plain covered with deep snow. The last day's march was very grievous, for the north wind, blowing full in their faces, quite parched and benumbed the men. On this one of the priests advised to sacrifice to the wind, which was complied with, and the vehemence of it visibly abated. The snow was a fathom in depth; insomuch that many of the slaves and sumpter horses died, and about thirty soldiers. They made fires all night, for they found plenty of wood in the place where they encamped; and those who came late having no wood, the others who were before arrived, and had made fires, would not allow them to warm themselves till they had given them a share of the wheat, or of the other provisions they had brought with them. By this exchange they relieved one another's wants. In the places where the fires were made, the snow being melted, there were large pits which reached

down to the ground; this afforded an opportunity of measuring the depth of the snow.

From thence they marched all the next day through the snow, when many of them contracted the bulimy.<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, who commanded the rear, seeing them lie on the ground, knew not what their distemper was: but being informed by those who were acquainted with it that it was plainly the bulimy, and that if they ate any thing they would rise again, he went to the baggage, and whatever refreshments he found there, he gave some to those who were afflicted with this distemper, and sent persons able to go about to divide the rest among others who were in the same condition: and as soon as they had eaten something they rose up, and continued their march. During which Chirisophus came to a village just as it was dark, and at a fountain without the walls he found some women and girls, who belonged to it, carrying water. These inquired who they were? The interpreter answered in Persian that they were going to the satrap from the king. The women replied, that he was not there, but at a place distant about a parasang from thence. As it was late, they entered the walls together with the women, and went to the bailiff of the town. Here Chirisophus encamped with all that could come up. The rest, who were unable to continue their march, passed the night without victuals or fire, by which means some of them perished: and a party of the enemy following our march, took some of the sumpter horses that could not keep pace with the rest, and fought with one another about them. Some of the men also,

<sup>1</sup> The bulimy is a distemper creating excessive hunger. It is thus described with all its symptoms by Galen: "The bulimy is a disorder in which the patient frequently craves for victuals, loses the use of his limbs, falls down, and turns pale; his extremities become cold, his stomach oppressed, and his pulse scarcely sensible." The French Philosophical Transactions speak of a countryman who was violently afflicted with this distemper, but was cured by voiding several worms of the length and bigness of a tobacco-pipe.

who had lost their sight by the snow, or whose toes were rotted off by the intenseness of the cold, were left behind. The eyes were relieved against the snow by wearing something black before them, and the feet against the cold by continual motion, and by pulling off their shoes in the night. If any slept with their shoes on, the lachets pierced their flesh, and their shoes stuck to their feet; for when their old shoes were worn out they wore carbatines made of raw hides. These grievances, therefore, occasioned some of the soldiers to be left behind; who, seeing a piece of ground that appeared black, because there was no snow on it, concluded it was melted; and melted it was by a vapour that was continually exhaling from a fountain in a valley near the place. Thither they betook themselves, and sitting down, refused to march any farther. Xenophon, who had charge of the rear, as soon as he was informed of this, tried all means to prevail on them not to be left behind, telling them that the enemy were got together in great numbers, and followed them close. At last he grew angry. They desired him to kill them if he would, for they were unable to go on. On this he thought the best thing he could do was if possible to strike a terror in the enemy that followed, lest they should fall on the men that were tired. It was now dark, and the enemy came on with great tumult, quarrelling with one another about their booty. On this such of the rear-guard as were well, rising up, rushed on them; while those who were tired shouted out as loud as they could, and struck their shields with their pikes. The enemy, alarmed at this, threw themselves into the valley through the snow, and were no more heard of.

Then Xenophon, with the rest of the forces, went away, assuring the sick men that the next day some people should be sent to them: but before they were gone four stadia they found others taking their shelter in the snow, and covered with it, no guard being

pointed. These they obliged to rise, who acquainted them that those at the head of the army did not move forward. Xenophon hearing this went on, and sending the ablest of the targeteers before, ordered them to see what was the occasion of the stop. They brought word that the whole army took their rest in that manner. So that Xenophon and his men, after they had appointed such guards as they were able, passed the night there also without either fire or victuals. When it was near day he sent the youngest of his men to oblige the sick to get up and come away. In the mean time Chirisophus sent some from the village to inquire in what condition the rear was. These were rejoiced to see them, and having delivered their sick to them to be conducted to the camp they marched forward; and before they had gone twenty stadia they found themselves in the village where Chirisophus was quartered. When they came together, they were of opinion that the army might quarter in the villages with safety. So Chirisophus staid in the place he was in, and the rest went to the several villages that were allotted to them.

Here Polycrates an Athenian, one of the captains, desired he might have leave to absent himself; and taking with him those who were most prepared for expedition, he made such haste to the village that had fallen to Xenophon's lot, that he surprised all the inhabitants, together with their bailiff, in their houses. He found here seventeen colts, that were bred as a tribute for the king; and also the bailiff's daughter, who had not been married above nine days. However, her husband, being gone to hunt the hare, was not taken in any of the villages. Their houses were under ground; the mouth resembling that of a well, but spacious below: there was an entrance dug for the cattle, but the inhabitants descended by ladders. In these houses were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls, with their young. All the cattle were maintained thin doors with fodder. There was also wheat,

barley, and legumens, and beer<sup>1</sup> in jars, in which the malt itself floated even with the brims of the vessels, and with it reeds, some large and others small, without joints. These, when any one was thirsty, he was to take into his mouth and suck. The liquor was very strong, when unmixed with water, and exceeding pleasant to those who were used to it.

Xenophon invited the bailiff of this village to sup with him, and encouraged him with this assurance, that his children should not be taken from him, and that when they went away they would leave his house full of provisions in return for those they took, provided he performed some signal service to the army, by conducting them till they came to another nation. The bailiff promised to perform this, and as an instance of his good-will, informed them where there was wine buried. The soldiers rested that night in their several quarters in the midst of plenty, keeping a guard on the bailiff, and having an eye at the same time on his children. The next day Xenophon, taking the bailiff along with him, went to Chirisophus, and in every village through which he passed made a visit to those who were quartered there, and found them every where feasting and rejoicing. They all would force him to sit down to dinner with them, and he every where found the tables covered with lamb, kid, pork, veal, and fowls; with plenty of bread, some made of wheat and some of barley. When any one had a mind to drink to his friend, he took him to the jar, where he was obliged to stoop, and, sucking, drink like an ox. The soldiers

<sup>1</sup> Literally, barley-wine. Diodorus Siculus tells us that Osiris, that is, the Egyptian Bacchus, was the inventor of malt liquor, as a relief to those countries where vines did not succeed, which is the reason assigned by Herodotus for the Egyptians using it. This was also the liquor used in France till the time of the Emperor Probus, when vines were first planted there. Pliny says they called it *cervisia*, a word probably derived from *cervoise*, which among the ancient Gauls signified beer. Julian, who was governor of France before he was emperor, vents his spleen against malt liquor, which necessity, or rather ignorance, in his time made the drink of that country.



gave the bailiff leave to take whatever he desired; but he took nothing; only wherever he met with any of his relations he carried them along with him.

When they came to Chirisophus, they found them also feasting, and crowned with garlands made of hay, and Armenian boys, in Barbarian dresses, waiting on them. To these they signified by signs what they would have them do, as if they had been deaf. As soon as Chirisophus and Xenophon had embraced one another, they asked the bailiff by their interpreter, who spoke the Persian language, what country it was. He answered, Armenia. After that they asked him for whom the horses were bred. He said for the king, as a tribute. He added that the neighbouring country was inhabited by the Chalybians, and informed them of the road that led to it. After that Xenophon went away, carrying back the bailiff to his family, and gave him the horse he had taken some time before, which was an old one; with a charge that he should recover him for a sacrifice (for he had heard he was consecrated to the sun), being afraid that, as he was very much fatigued with the journey, he should die. At the same time he took one of the young horses for himself, and gave one of them to each of the generals and captains. The horses of this country are less than those of Persia, but have a great deal more spirit. On this occasion the bailiff taught us to tie bags to the feet of the horses and beasts of burden when they travelled through the snow, for without them they sunk up to their bellies.

VI. After they had staid here eight days Xenophon delivered the bailiff to Chirisophus, to serve him as a guide, and left him all his family, except his son, a youth just in the flower of his age. This youth he committed to the charge of Episthenes of Amphipolis, with a design to send him back with his father, if he conducted them in a proper manner. At the same time they carried as many things as they

could into his house, and decamping, marched away. The bailiff conducted them through the snow unbound. They had now marched three days, when Chirisophus grew angry with him for not carrying them to some villages. The bailiff said there were none in that part of the country. On this Chirisophus struck him, but did not order him to be bound: so that he made his escape in the night, leaving his son behind him. This ill-treatment and neglect of the bailiff was the cause of the only difference that happened between Chirisophus and Xenophon during their whole march. Episthenes took an affection to the youth, and carrying him into Greece, found great fidelity in him.

After this they made seven marches, at the rate of five parasangs each day, and arrived at the river Phasis<sup>1</sup> which is about one hundred feet in breadth. From thence they made in two marches ten parasangs; when they found the Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians posted on the passage that led over the mountains to the plain. As soon as Chirisophus saw the enemy in possession of that post he halted at the distance of about thirty stadia, that he might not approach them while the army marched in a column; for which reason he ordered the captains to bring up their companies in the front, that the army might be drawn up in a line.

When the rear-guard came up, he called the generals and captains together, and spoke to them in this manner: "The enemy, you see, are masters of the pass over the mountains. We are therefore now to consider in what manner we may charge them with the greatest advantage. It is my opinion, that while the soldiers get their dinner we should consult among ourselves whether it will be most proper to attempt

<sup>1</sup> It must be observed that this is not the river Phasis which falls into the Euxine Sea, and to which sportsmen are obliged for the breed of pheasants. Delisle is of opinion that the *Phasis* here mentioned is the Araxes, which falls into the Caspian Sea, the same whose impetuous course is so boldly described by Virgil,

Pontem indignatus Araxes.

the passage to-day, or stay till to-morrow"—“My advice is,” said Cleanor, “that as soon as we have dined we should take our arms and attack the enemy; for if we defer it till to-morrow, this delay will inspire those who observe us with confidence, and their confidence will in all probability draw others to their assistance.”

After him Xenophon said: “This is my sense of the matter. If we are obliged to fight, we ought to prepare ourselves to fight with all possible bravery; but if we propose to pass the mountain in the easiest manner, we are to consider by what means we may receive the fewest wounds and lose the fewest men. The mountain that lies before us reaches above sixty stadia in length, and in all this extent no guard appears to be posted any where, but only in this part. For which reason I should think it more for our advantage to endeavour to surprise some unguarded place on the mountain, and if possible prevent their seizing it, than to attack a post already fortified, and men prepared to resist; for it is easier to climb a steep ascent without fighting than to march on plain ground when the enemy are posted on both sides of us. We can also better see what lies before us in the night, when we are not obliged to fight, than in the daytime when we are; and the roughest way is easier to those who march without fighting, than an even way to those whose heads are exposed to the darts of an enemy. Neither do I think it impossible for us to steal such a march, since we may have the advantage of the night to conceal us, and may take so great a circuit as not to be discovered. I am also of opinion, that if we make a false attack on the post which is possessed by the enemy, we shall by that means find the rest of the mountain more unguarded; for this will oblige them to keep all their forces in a body. But why do I mention stealing! since I am informed, O Chirisophus! that among you Lacedæmonians those of the first rank practise

it from their childhood, and that instead of being a dishonour, it is your duty to steal those things which the law has not forbidden; and to the end you may learn to steal with the greatest dexterity and secrecy imaginable, your laws have provided that those who are taken in a theft shall be whipped. This is the time, therefore, for you to show how far your education has improved you, and to take care that in stealing this march we are not discovered, lest we smart severely for it."

Chirisophus answered: "I am also informed that you Athenians are very expert in stealing the public money notwithstanding the great danger you are exposed to, and that your best men are the most expert at it, that is, if you choose your best men for your magistrates. So that this is a proper time for you also to show the effects of your education." "I am ready," replied Xenophon, "to march with the rear-guard as soon as we have supped, in order to possess myself of the mountain. I have guides with me; for our light-armed men have in an ambuscade taken some of the marauders that follow the army. By these I am informed that the mountain is not inaccessible, but that goats and oxen graze on it; so that if we are once masters of any part of it, it will be accessible also to our sumpter horses. Neither do I believe the enemy will keep their post when they see we are masters of the summit and on an equality with themselves, because they are now unwilling to come down to us on equal ground." But Chirisophus said, "Why should you go and leave the charge of the rear? Rather send others, unless any offer themselves to this service." On this Aristonymus of Methyria presented himself with his heavy-armed men; and Aristetas of Chios, and Nicomachus of Ceta, both with their light-armed. And it was agreed that when they had possessed themselves of the summit they should light several fires. When these things were settled they went to dinner. After which

Chrisophus led the whole army within ten stadia of the enemy as if he had absolutely resolved to march that way.

Supper being ended, and night coming on, those who had orders marched away and made themselves masters of the top of the mountain. The others went to rest where they were. The enemy, finding our men were possessed of that post, remained under arms, and made many fires all night. As soon as it was day Chrisophus, after he had offered sacrifice, led his forces up the road, while those who had gained the summit attacked the enemy; great part of whom staid to defend the pass, and the rest advanced against those who were masters of the eminence. But before Chrisophus could come up to the enemy those on the summit were engaged where our men had the advantage, and drove the enemy before them. In the mean time the Greek targeteers ran on from the plain to attack those who were ready drawn up to receive them, and Chrisophus, at the head of the heavy-armed men, followed as fast as was consistent with a regular march. However, the enemy that were posted in the pass, when they saw those above give way, fled also; when great numbers of them were slain, and many of their bucklers taken, which the Greeks, by cutting them to pieces, rendered useless. As soon as they had gained the ascent they offered sacrifice, and having erected a trophy marched down into the plain, where they found villages well stored with all sorts of provisions.

VII. From hence they came to the country of the Taochians, making in five marches thirty-five parasangs: and here their provisions began to fail them; for the Taochians inhabited fastnesses into which they had conveyed all their provisions. At last the army arrived at a strong place which had neither city nor houses on it, but where great numbers of men and women with their cattle were assembled. In this place Chrisophus ordered to be attacked the

moment he came before it, and when the first company suffered another went up, and then another; for the place being surrounded with precipices, they could not attack it on all sides at once. When Xenophon came up with the rear-guard, the targeteers, and heavy-armed men, Chirisophus said to him, "You come very seasonably, for this place must be taken, otherwise the army will be starved."

On this they called a council of war, and Xenophon demanding what could hinder them from carrying the place, Chirisophus answered, "There is no other access to it but this, and when any of our men attempt to gain it they roll down stones from the impending rock, and those they light on are treated as you see,"—pointing at the same time to some of the men whose legs and ribs were broken. "But," said Xenophon, "when they have consumed all the stones they have, what can hinder us then from going up? for I can see nothing to oppose us but a few men, and of these not above two or three that are armed. The space, you see, through which we must pass exposed to these stones is about one hundred and fifty feet in length of which that of one hundred feet is covered with large pines growing in groups, against which if our men place themselves what can they suffer either from the stones that are thrown or rolled down by the enemy? The remaining part of this space is not above fifty feet, which, when the stones cease, we must despatch with all possible expedition."—"But," said Chirisophus, "the moment we offer to go to the place that is covered with the trees they will shower down stones on us." "That," replied Xenophon, "is the very thing we want, for by this means they will be consumed the sooner. However," continued he, "let us, if we can, advance to that place, from whence we may have but a little way to run, and from whence we may also, if we see convenient, retreat with ease."

On this Chirisophus and Xenophon with Calli-

machus of Parrhasia, one of the captains, advanced (for the last had the command that day of the captains in the rear), all the rest of the officers standing out of danger. Then about seventy of the men advanced under the trees, not in a body but one by one, each sheltering himself as well as he could; while Agasias the Stymphalian and Aristonymus of Methydris, who were also captains belonging to the rear, with some others, stood behind without the trees, for it was not safe for more than one company to be there. On this occasion Callimachus made use of the following stratagem. He advanced two or three paces from the tree under which he stood; but as soon as the stones began to fly he quickly retired, and on every excursion more than ten cart-loads of stones were consumed. When Agasias saw what Callimachus was doing, and that the eyes of the whole army were on him, fearing lest he should be the first man who entered the place, he, without giving any notice to Aristonymus, who stood next to him, or to Eurylochus of Lusis, both of whom were his friends, or to any other person, advanced alone with a design to get before the rest. When Callimachus saw him passing by he laid hold on the border of his shield. In the mean time Aristonymus, and after him Eurylochus; ran by them both; for all these were rivals in glory, and in a constant emulation of each other. And by contending thus they took the place; for the moment one of them had gained the ascent there were no more stones thrown from above.

And here followed a dreadful spectacle indeed; for the women first threw their children down the precipice and then themselves. The men did the same. And here Æneas the Stymphalian, a captain, seeing one of the Barbarians, who was richly dressed, running with a design to throw himself down, caught hold of him; and the other drawing him after, they both fell down the precipice together, and were dashed to pieces. Thus we made very few pris-

oners, but took a considerable quantity of oxen, asses, and sheep.

From thence the Greeks advanced through the country of the Chalybians,<sup>1</sup> and in seven marches made fifty parasangs. These being the most valiant people they met with in all their march, they came to a close engagement with the Greeks. They had linen corslets that reached below their middle, and instead of tassels thick cords twisted. They had also greaves and helmets, and at their girdle a short falchion, like those of the Lacedæmonians, with which they cut the throats of those they overpowered, and afterward cutting off their heads carried them away in triumph. It was their custom to sing and dance whenever they thought the enemy saw them. They had pikes fifteen cubits in length, with only one point. They staid in their cities till the Greeks marched past them, and then followed harassing them perpetually. After that they retired to their strongholds into which they had conveyed their provisions: so that the Greeks could supply themselves with nothing out of the country, but lived on the cattle they had taken from the Taochians.

They now came to the river Harpasus, which was four hundred feet broad; and from thence advanced through the country of the Scythians, and in four days' march made twenty parasangs, passing through a plain into some villages; in which they staid three days and took in provisions. From this place they made in four days' march twenty parasangs to a large and rich city well inhabited: it was called Gymnias. The governor of this country sent a person to the Greeks to conduct them through the territories of his enemies. This guide, coming to the army, said he would undertake in five days to carry

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say what nation these were: I am sensible Diodorus Siculus calls them Chalcidians; but we are much in the dark as to them. The reader will therefore observe, that these Chalybians were a different people from those he will find mentioned by our author in the next book.



them to a place from whence they should see the sea. If not, he consented to be put to death. And when he had conducted them into the territories belonging to his enemies he desired them to lay waste the country with fire and sword: by which it was evident that he came with this view, and not from any good-will he bore to the Greeks. The fifth day they arrived at the holy mountain called Theches. As soon as the men who were in the vanguard ascended the mountain and saw the sea, they gave a great shout; which when Xenophon and those in the rear heard, they concluded that some other enemies attacked them in front; for the people belonging to the country they had burned followed their rear, some of whom those who had charge of it had killed, and taken others prisoners in an ambuscade. They had also taken twenty bucklers made of raw ox-hides with the hair on.

The noise still increasing as they came nearer, and the men as fast as they came up running to those who still continued shouting, their cries swelled with their numbers; so that Xenophon, thinking something more than ordinary had happened, mounted on horseback, and taking with him Lycius and his horse rode up to their assistance; and presently they heard the soldiers calling out, "Sea! sea!" and cheering one another. At this they all began to run the rear-guard as well as the rest; and the beasts of burden and horses were driven forward. When they were all come up to the top of the mountain they embraced one another, and also their generals and captains, with tears in their eyes; and immediately the men, by whose order it is not known, bringing together a great many stones, made a large mount, on which they placed a great quantity of shields made of raw ox-hides, staves, and bucklers taken from the enemy. The guide himself cut the bucklers in pieces, and exhorted the rest to do the same. After this the Greeks sent back their guide, giving

him presents out of the public stock: these were a horse, a silver cup, a Persian dress, and ten daricks. But above all things, the guide desired the soldiers to give him some of their rings, many of which they gave him. Having therefore shown them a village, where they were to quarter, and the road that led to the Macronians, when the evening came on he departed, setting out on his return that night. From thence the Greeks in three days' march made ten parasangs, through the country of the Macronians.

VIII. During their first day's march they came to a river, which divided the territories of the Macronians from those of the Scythians. The Greeks had on their right an eminence of very difficult access, and on their left another river, into which the river that served for a boundary between the two nations, and which the Greeks were to pass, emptied itself. The banks of this river were covered with trees, which were not large, but grew close to one another. These the Greeks immediately cut down, being in haste to get out of the place. The Macronians were drawn up on the opposite side to obstruct their passage. They were armed with bucklers and spears, and wore vests made of hair. They animated one another, and threw stones into the river; but as they did not reach our men, they could do us no damage.

On this, one of the targeteers, coming to Xenophon, said, he had formerly been a slave at Athens; that he understood the language of these people; "And," said he, "if I am not mistaken, this is my own country; and if there is no objection, I will speak to the people." Xenophon answered, "There is none; so speak to them," said he, "and first inquire what people they are." He did so, and they answered they were Macronians. "Ask them, therefore," said Xenophon, "why they are drawn up against us, and seek to be our enemies?" To which they answered, "Because you invade our country." The generals then ordered him to let them know it was not with a

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view of doing them any injury; "but that having made war against the king, we were returning to Greece, and desirous to arrive at the sea." The Macronians asked whether they were willing to give assurance of this. The Greeks answered, that they were willing both to give and take it. On this the Macronians gave the Greeks a Barbarian spear, and the Greeks gave them one of theirs; for this, they said, was their method of pledging their faith; and both parties called on the gods to witness their treaty.

When this ceremony was over, the Macronians came in a friendly manner among the Greeks, and assisted them in cutting down the trees, in order to prepare the way for their passage. They also supplied them with a market in the best manner they were able, and conducted them through their country during three days, till they brought them to the mountains of the Colchians.<sup>1</sup> One of these was very large, but not inaccessible. And on this the Colchians stood in order of battle. The Greeks at first drew up their army in a line, with a design to march up the mountain in this disposition; afterward the generals, being assembled, thought proper to de-

<sup>1</sup> We have been a long time following Xenophon through countries, the greatest part of whose inhabitants are scarce known but by his history. We are now beginning to tread on classical ground, where almost every mountain, every river, and every city is rendered famous by the actions of the Greeks and Romans, but more so by their writings. The Colchians are immortalized by the Argonautic expedition, but their origin is not so generally known. Dionysius Periegetes, after Herodotus, makes them a colony of the Egyptians. Herodotus says they were either settled there by Sesostris, or, being unwilling to follow him any farther, remained there. This he supports by several arguments, as that they were black, and had curled hair; but chiefly because the Colchians, the Egyptians, and Ethiopians were the only people in the world that originally used circumcision: the Phœnicians and Syrians in Palestine themselves acknowledging that they learned it from the Egyptians. Herodotus adds, that the Egyptians and Colchians agreed also in their way of living, and spoke the same language. If by the Syrians in Palestine he means the Jews, as it is very probable, his opinion opens so large a field for argument, that to treat it cursorily would not be doing justice to a subject of so much consequence, and to go the whole length of it would be not only invading the province of gentlemen much more capable of discussing it than myself, but would also swell this annotation much beyond its due length.

to state in what manner they should engage the enemy with most advantage; when Xenophon said, it was his opinion they ought to change the disposition, and dividing the heavy-armed men into companies of one hundred men each, to throw every company into a separate column: "For," said he, "the mountain being in some places inaccessible, and in others of easy ascent, the line<sup>1</sup> will presently be broken, and this will at once dishearten the men; besides, if we advance with many men in file, the enemy's line will outreach ours, and they may apply that part of it which outreaches us to what service they think proper; and if with few, we ought not to wonder if they break through our line wherever their numbers and weapons unite to make an impression; and if this happens in any part, the whole line must suffer. To avoid therefore these inconveniences, I think the several companies, being thus drawn up in separate columns, ought to march at so great a distance from one another, that the last on each side may reach beyond the enemy's wings: by this means not only our last companies will outreach their line, but, as we make our attack in columns, the bravest of our men will charge first; and let every company ascend the mountain in that part where it is of easy access; neither will it be an easy matter for the enemy to fall into the intervals when the companies are placed on each side, or to break through them when they advance in columns; and if any of the companies suffer, the next will relieve them; and if any one of them can by any means gain the summit, the enemy will no longer stand their ground."

<sup>1</sup> The reasons given here by Xenophon for attacking this mountain in columns rather than in a line are the same with those alleged by Polybius, in his dissertation on the Macedonian phalanx, where we find a much more particular description of it, and of all its operations, than is to be met with in any other author. From the reasoning both of Xenophon and Polybius it may be gathered, that Philip, the son of Amyntas and father of Alexander the Great, who we find by Diodorus Siculus instituted the Macedonian phalanx, did not improve the Greek discipline by that institution.

This was resolved on; so they divided the heavy armed men into companies, and threw every company into a separate column; then Xenophon, going from the right of the army to the left, spoke thus to the soldiers: "Friends! the enemy you see before you are now the sole remaining obstacle that hinders us from being already in the place to which we have long been hastening. These, if we can, we ought even to eat alive."

When every man stood in his place, and all the companies were drawn up in columns, they amounted to about eighty companies of heavy-armed, each of which consisted of near a hundred men: the targeteers and archers they divided into three bodies of near six hundred men each, one of which they placed beyond the left wing, another beyond the right, and the third in the centre. Then the generals ordered the soldiers to make their vows to the gods; and after they had made them, and sung the pæan, they marched. Chrisophus and Xenophon advanced at the head of those targeteers who were beyond the enemy's line; these, seeing them coming up, moved forward to receive them, and some filed off to the right and others to the left, leaving a great void in the centre. When the Arcadian targeteers, who were commanded by Æschines the Arcadian, saw them divide, they ran forward in all haste, thinking they fled, and these were the first who gained the summit. They were followed by the Arcadian heavy-armed men, commanded by Cleanor, the Orchomenian. The enemy, when once they began to give ground, never stood after, but fled some one way and some another. After the Greeks had gained the ascent, they encamped in many villages full of all sorts of provisions. Here they found nothing else worthy of their admiration; but there being great quantities of bee-hives<sup>1</sup> in those villages, all the

<sup>1</sup> The accident here mentioned by Xenophon is accounted for by Pliny, and further explained by Tournefort. The first says there is a kind of

soldiers who ate of the honeycombs lost their senses, and were seized with a vomiting and purging, none of them being able to stand on their legs. Those who ate but little were like men very drunk, and those who ate much, like madmen, and some like dying persons. In this condition great numbers lay on the ground, as if there had been a defeat, and the sorrow was general. The next day none of them died, but recovered their senses about the same hour they were seized; and the third and fourth day they got up as if they had taken physic.

From thence they made in two days' march seven parasangs, and arrived at the sea, and at Trebisond,<sup>1</sup> a Greek city well inhabited, and situated on the Euxine Sea; it is a colony of the Sinopians, but lies in the country of the Colchians. Here they staid about thirty days, encamping in the villages of the Colchians, and from thence made excursions into their country, and plundered it. The inhabitants of Trebisond supplied them with a market in their camp, and received the Greeks with great hospitality, making them presents of oxen, barley-meal, and wine; they also concluded a treaty with them in favour of the neighbouring Colchians, the greatest part of whom inhabit the plain; and from these also

honey found in this country called, from its effect, *mænomenon*; that is, that those who eat of it are seized with madness. He adds, that the common opinion is, that this honey is gathered from the flowers of a plant called *rhododendros*, which is very common in those parts. Tournefort, when he was in that country, saw there two plants, which he calls *chamaerhododendros*, the first with leaves like the medlar, and yellow flowers; and the other with leaves like the *laurocerasus*, and purple flowers: this, he says, is probably the *rhododendros* of Pliny, because the people of the country think the honey that is gathered from its flowers produces the effects described by Xenophon.

<sup>1</sup> As this was a Greek city, the Greeks found themselves here in safety after their long and glorious march. The port, which is on the east of the town, was built by the Emperor Adrian, as we find by Arrian, who, in his *Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, which he dedicates to that emperor, says, "that he was making a port there, for before there was no more than a station, where ships could only ride at anchor with safety in the summer time." Tournefort says, this port is now called Platana, and is much neglected by the Turks.

the Greeks received more oxen as a mark of their hospitality. After this they prepared the sacrifice they had vowed. They had received oxen enough to offer to Jupiter the preserver, and to Hercules, in return for their having conducted them with safety, and also to the other gods what they had vowed. They also celebrated a gymnastic game on the mountain where they encamped, and chose Dracontius of Sparta (who, having involuntarily killed a boy with his falchion, fled from his country when he was a child) to take care of the course and preside at the game.

When the sacrifice was over they delivered the hides of the victims to Dracontius, and desired he would lead them to the place where he had prepared the course. "This hill," said he, pointing to the place where they stood, "is the most proper place for running, let them take which way they will." "But," said they, "how is it possible for them to wrestle in so uneven and so bushy a place?" "He that is thrown," replied he, "will feel the greater anguish." The course was run by boys, the greater part of whom were prisoners, and the long course by above sixty Cretans; others contended in wrestling, boxing, and the pancratiun. All which made a fine sight: for many entered the lists, and as their friends were spectators, there was great emulation. Horses also ran: they were obliged to run down to the sea, and, turning there, to come up again to the altar. In the descent many rolled down the hill: but when they came to climb it, the ascent was so very steep, the horses could scarcely come in at a foot pace. On this the spectators shouted, and laughed, and animated their friends.

## BOOK V.

CHAP. I. WE have hitherto related the actions of the Greeks in their expedition with Cyrus, and in the march to the Euxine Sea; how they arrived at Trebisond, a Greek city, and offered the sacrifices they had vowed to the gods in return for their safety, in the place where they first came into the territories of their friends.

After that, they assembled to consider of the remainder of their march, and Antoleon of Thuria first rose up, and spoke in the following manner: "For my part, friends, I am already tired with preparing my baggage, with walking and running, carrying my arms, and marching in my rank, and with mounting the guard and fighting; and therefore now desire, since we are arrived at the sea, to sail from hence forward, freed from these labours, and stretched out, like Ulysses, sleeping till we arrive in Greece." The soldiers, hearing this, applauded him, and first another, and then all present expressed the same desire. On this Chirisophus rose up and said, "Friends! Anaxibius is my friend, and at present admiral; if, therefore, you think proper to send me to him, I make no doubt of returning with galleys and ships to transport you; and since you are disposed to go by sea, stay here till I return, which will be very suddenly." The soldiers, hearing this, were very well satisfied, and decreed that he should set sail immediately.

After him Xenophon got up and spoke to this effect: "Chirisophus is gone to provide ships for us in the mean time we propose to stay here. I shall therefore acquaint you with what I think proper for us to do during our stay. In the first place, we must



supply ourselves with provisions out of the enemy's country, for the market here is not sufficient to supply us: besides, few of us are furnished with money to provide ourselves with what we want, and the country is inhabited by the enemy. We shall therefore expose ourselves to lose many of our men, if, when we go in search of provisions, we are careless and unguarded: so that I am of opinion, when you go out on these expeditions, you ought to take guides in order to be safe, and not wander about the country without them, and that the care of providing them be left to us." This being resolved, he went on: "Hear also what I have further to say. Some of you will, no doubt, desire to go out for plunder. Let all such, therefore, acquaint us with their intentions, and to what part of the country they propose to go, that we may know the number both of those who go and of those that stay, and assist the former in any thing they want; and if it shall be found necessary to send out succours, that we may know whither to send them: and that if any person of less experience undertakes any thing, by endeavouring to know the strength of the enemy, we may be able to advise him." This also was resolved. "In the next place, consider this," said he: "the enemy, having leisure to make reprisals, may with justice lay snares for us, for we have possessed ourselves of what belongs to them, and they have the advantage of us by being posted on eminences that command our camp. For which reason, I think, we ought to place out-guards round the camp; and if by turns we mount the guard, and watch the motions of the enemy, we shall be the less exposed to a surprise. Take this also into your consideration. If we were assured that Chirisophus would return with a sufficient number of ships to transport us, what I am going to say would be unnecessary: but as that is uncertain, I think we ought at the same time to endeavour to provide ourselves with ships from hence:

for if we are already supplied when he arrives, we shall have a greater number of ships to transport us; and if he brings none, we shall make use of those we have provided. I observe many ships sailing along this coast; these, if we desire the inhabitants of Trebisond to supply us with ships of strength, we may bring to the shore, and taking off their rudders, place a guard on them, till we have enough to transport us in such a manner as we propose." This also was resolved. "The next thing I would recommend to your consideration," said he, "is, whether it may not be reasonable to subsist those belonging to the ships, as long as they stay in our service, out of the public stock, and pay them their freight, that they may find their account in serving us?" This was also resolved. "I think," added Xenophon, "that if by these means we should be disappointed of a sufficient number of ships, we ought to order the towns that border on the sea to repair the roads, which, as we are informed, are hardly passable: for they will obey our orders, both through fear and a desire to be rid of us."

On this they all cried out that there was no necessity to repair the roads. Xenophon, therefore, seeing their folly, declined putting any question relating to that, but prevailed on the towns near the sea to mend their roads of their own accord; telling them that if the roads were good, the Greeks would the sooner leave their country. The inhabitants of Trebisond let them have a galley with fifty oars, of which they gave the command to Dexippus, who lived in the neighbourhood of Sparta: but he, neglecting to take any transport-ships, went away with the galley, and sailed out of the Euxine Sea. However, he afterward received condign punishment; for being in Thrace in the service of Seuthes, and carrying on some intrigues there, he was slain by Nicander the Lacedæmonian. The inhabitants of Trebisond also supplied them with a galley of thirty oars, of which

Polycrates an Athenian had the command, who brought all the transport-ships he seized to the shore before the camp, and the Greeks, taking out their cargoes, appointed guards to take charge of them, and retained the ships for their passage. In the mean time the soldiers went out to get plunder, some succeeding, and others not. But Cleænetus, in attacking a strong place with his own and another company, was slain, together with many others.

II. When the provisions in the neighbourhood were so far consumed that the parties could not return the same day, Xenophon, taking some of the inhabitants of Trebisond for his guides, led out one half of the army against the Drillians, leaving the other to guard the camp: because the Colchians, being driven out of their houses, were got together in great numbers, and encamped on the eminences. These guides did not lead them to those places where provisions were easy to be had, because the inhabitants were their friends; but conducted them with great cheerfulness into the territories of the Drillians, by whom they had been ill treated. This is a mountainous country, and of difficult access, and the people the most warlike of all those who live near the Euxine Sea.

As soon as the Greeks entered their country the Drillians set fire to all the places they thought easy to be taken, and then went away; so that the Greeks found nothing but swine and oxen, and some other cattle that escaped the fire. There was one place, called their metropolis, whither they had all betaken themselves. This place was surrounded by a valley, exceedingly deep, and the access to it was difficult. However, the targeteers, advancing five or six stadia before the heavy-armed men, passed the valley, and seeing there a great many cattle with other things, attacked the place. They were followed by many Xenemen, who had left the camp to get provisions: that the number of those who passed the valley amounted to above two thousand men. These finding

themselves unable to take the place by storm, for it was surrounded with a large ditch and a rampart, on which there were palisades, and many wooden towers, endeavoured to retreat; but the enemy attacked the rear; so that not being able to make their retreat, for the pass which led from the place to the valley was so narrow they could only go one by one, they sent to Xenophon, who was at the head of the heavy-armed men. The messenger acquainted him that the place was furnished with great quantities of effects. "But," said he, "it is so strong, we cannot make ourselves master of it; neither is it easy for us to retreat; for the enemy, sallying from the place, attacks our rear, and the recess is difficult."

Xenophon, hearing this, advanced to the brink of the valley, and ordered the heavy-armed men to stand to their arms; then passing over with the captains, he considered whether it were better to bring off those who had already passed, or to send for the heavy-armed men to come over also, in expectation of taking the place. He found the first could not be brought off without considerable loss; and the captains were also of opinion that the place might be taken. So Xenophon consented, relying on the victims; for the priests had foretold there would be an action, and that their excursion would be attended with success. He sent, therefore, the captains to bring over the heavy-armed men, and he himself staid there, and drew off the targeteers without suffering any of them to skirmish. As soon as the heavy-armed men came up, he ordered each of the captains to draw up their several companies in such a manner as they thought most advantageous. He did this, because those captains who were in a perpetual emulation of gallantry stood near to one another. While these orders were putting in execution he commanded all the targeteers to advance with their fingers in the slings of their darts, which, when the signal was given, they were to launch, and

the archers with their arrows on the string, which, on a signal also, they were to discharge; at the same time he ordered the light-armed men to have their pouches full of stones; and appointed proper persons to see these orders executed. When every thing was ready, and the captains and lieutenants, and the men, who valued themselves no less than their leaders, stood all in their ranks, and viewed one another, for by reason of the ground the army made a fine appearance, they sung the pæan, and the trumpet sounded; then the army shouted, the heavy-armed men ran on, and javelins, arrows, leaden balls, and stones thrown by hand flew among the enemy; some of the men even throwing fire at them. The great quantity of these missile weapons forced them both from the palisades and the towers; so that Agasias of Stymphalus, and Philozenus of Pallene, laying down their arms, mounted the rampart in their vests only; when some, being drawn up by their companions, and others getting up by themselves, the place was taken, as they imagined. On this the targeteers and light-armed men, rushing in, plundered every thing they could find, while Xenophon, standing at the gates, kept as many of the heavy-armed men as he could without; because other bodies of the enemy appeared on some eminences strongly fortified. Not long after there was a cry heard within, and the men came flying, some with what they had seized, and others also wounded. On this there was great crowding about the gates. Those who got through, being asked what the matter was, said there was a fort within, from which the enemy sallied, and wounded our men who were in the place.

Xenophon, hearing this, ordered Tolmides the crier to publish that all who desired to partake of the plunder should go in; many therefore prepared themselves to enter, and, rushing in, drove back those who were endeavouring to get out, and shut up the enemy again within the fort. The Greeks plundered and

carried off every thing they found without it; while the heavy-armed men stood to their arms, some round the palisades, and others on the road that led to the fort. Then Xenophon and the captains considered whether it were possible to take it; for in that case they secured their retreat, which otherwise would be exceeding difficult: but on consideration the fort was found to be altogether impregnable. On this they prepared for their retreat, and each of the men pulled up the palisades that were next to him; then the useless people, together with the greater part of the heavy-armed men, were sent out to get plunder; but the captains retained those in whom each of them confided.

As soon as they began their retreat the enemy sallied on them in great numbers, armed with bucklers, spears, greaves, and Paphlagonian helmets; while others got on the houses on each side of the street that led to the fort; so that it was not safe to pursue them to the gates of it, for they threw great pieces of timber from above, which made it dangerous both to stay and to retire; and the night coming on increased the terror. While they were engaged with the enemy under this perplexity some god administered to them a means of safety; for one of the houses on the right-hand took fire on a sudden: who set fire to it is not known; but as soon as the house fell in the enemy quitted all those on the right, and Xenophon, being taught this expedient by fortune, ordered all the houses on the left to be set on fire. These being built of wood were soon in a flame, on which the enemy quitted them also. There only now remained those in the front to disturb them, it being evident they designed to attack them in their retreat and descent from the fort. On this Xenophon ordered all who were out of the reach of the missile weapons to bring wood, and lay it in the midway between them and the enemy. When they had brought enough they set fire to it; setting fire at

the same time to the houses that were next the rampart, in order to employ the enemy. Thus, by interposing fire between themselves and the Barbarians, they with difficulty made good their retreat; the city, with all the houses, towers, palisades, and every thing else but the fort, was reduced to ashes.

The next day the Greeks marched away with the provisions they had taken; but apprehending some danger in the descent to Trebisonde, for it was a steep and narrow defile, they placed a false ambuscade. A certain Mysian, by birth as well as name, taking four or five Cretans with him, stopped in a thicket, affecting an endeavour to conceal himself from the enemy, while the flashing of their brazen bucklers discovered them here and there. The enemy, therefore, seeing this, were afraid of it as of a real ambuscade: in the mean time the army descended. As soon as the Mysian judged they were advanced far enough he gave the signal to his companions to fly in all haste; and he himself leaving the thicket fled, and they with him. The Cretans, expecting to be overtaken, left the road, and rolling down into the valleys got safe to a wood; but the Mysian, keeping the road, called out for help, when some ran to his assistance and brought him off wounded. These after they had rescued him retreated slowly, though exposed to the enemy's missile weapons, while some of the Cretans discharged their arrows in return. Thus they all arrived at the camp in safety.

III. When neither Chirisophus returned, nor the ships they had provided were sufficient to transport them, and no more provisions were to be had, they determined to leave the country. To this end they put on board all their sick and those above forty years of age, together with the women and children, and all their baggage that was not absolutely necessary, and appointed Philesius and Sophænetus, the oldest of the generals, to go on board and take care of them.

The rest travelled by land, the roads being mended ; and the third day they arrived at Cerazunt,<sup>1</sup> a Greek city, situated in the country of the Colchians near the sea, and a colony of the Sinopians. Here they staid ten days, during which the soldiers were reviewed in their arms, and an account taken of their number, which amounted to eight thousand six hundred. These were all that were saved out of about ten thousand ; the rest were destroyed by the enemy and by the snow, and some by sickness. Here each man received his share of the money that had been raised by the sale of the captives, the tenth part of which they consecrated to Apollo and to Diana of Ephesus. Of this each of the generals received a part, to be appropriated by them to that service. Neon the Asinian received that which was designed for Chirisophus.

Xenophon, therefore, having caused an offering to be made for Apollo, consecrated it in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphos, inscribing it with his own name and that of Proxenus, who was slain with Clearchus, there having been an intercourse of hospitality between them. As to that part of the money which was appropriated to Diana of Ephesus he left it with Megabyzus, the sacristan of that goddess, when he departed out of Asia in company with Agesilaus with a design to go to Bœotia, conceiving it might be exposed to some danger with him at Chæronea. He enjoined Megabyzus, if he escaped, to restore the money to him, otherwise to make such an offering with it as he thought would be most acceptable to the goddess, and dedicate it to her. Afterward, when Xenophon was banished from

<sup>1</sup> Cerazunt was the place whence Lucullus in his return from his expedition against Mithridates brought cherry-trees into Italy, in the year of Rome 660 ; one hundred and twenty years after that they were carried into Britain : they seem to have had their name from the city, or the city from them. Tournefort tells us that he found all the hills in the neighbourhood of it covered with those trees. Cerazunt was afterward call'd Pharnacia, though Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny make them different towns.



Athens, and lived at Scillus, a town built by the Lacedæmonians near Olympia, Megabyzus came to Olympia to see the games, and restored the deposit. With this money Xenophon purchased some lands in honour of the goddess in the place directed by the oracle, through which the river Selinus happens to run; a river of the same name running also hard by the temple of the Ephesian Diana, and in both there are shellfish as well as other fish; besides there are in this place, near Scillus, wild beasts of all kinds that are proper for the chase. Xenophon also built a temple<sup>1</sup> and an altar with this consecrated money; and from that time offered to the goddess an annual sacrifice of the tenth of the produce of every season; and all the inhabitants with the men and women in the neighbourhood partook of the feast; and all who were present at it had barley-meal, bread, wine, and sweetmeats in honour of the goddess, and also their share of the victims that are killed from the consecrated lands, and of the game that was taken: for the sons of Xenophon and those of the rest of the inhabitants always made a general hunting against the feast, when all who desired it hunted along with them; and wild boars, with roe and red deer were taken both on the consecrated lands and on a mountain called Pholoe. The place lies near the road that leads from Lacedæmon to Olympia, about twenty stadia from the temple of Jupiter that stands in the last of these cities. There are groves belonging to it, and hills covered with trees very proper to feed swine, goats, sheep, and horses; so that those belonging to the persons who come to the feast find plenty of pasture.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias tells us that near to this temple stood a monument, said to be erected for Xenophon, with his statue in Penteliesian marble. The quarry of this marble, so much celebrated among the statuaries, was on a mountain of that name near Athens: whatever merit this marble might have, we find in Pliny that the first statuaries made use of no other than that of Paros; though since that time, he says, many whiter kinds of marble have been discovered, and not long before he wrote, in the quarries of Luna, a seaport town of Tuscany.

The temple itself stands in a grove of fruit-trees that yield all sorts of fruit proper to the season. It resembles in little the temple of Ephesus,<sup>1</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson has on this occasion quoted a passage out of Pliny, wherein that author gives the dimensions of the temple of Ephesus; but it must be observed, that the temple there described by Pliny was not in being at the time of our author, since it was only begun after the first was burned down by Erostratus, which happened the same night Alexander the Great was born; that is, in the Attic month Boëdromion (September), in the first year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad; which gave occasion to Timæus the historian to say, that it was no wonder Diana's temple was burned, since the goddess was from home attending Olympias in her labour. The temple, therefore, which was burned down by Erostratus, not that described by Pliny, which was not begun till some years after Xenophon's death, and was two hundred and twenty years in building, must have been the model of the temple built by Xenophon at Scillus. The last temple of Ephesus Alexander, it seems, was so desirous to have inscribed with his name, that he offered the Ephesians to bear all the expence they had been and should be at in building it, provided they would consent to the inscription. This they refused with as great vanity as he desired it; but being sensible that a flat denial might be attended with dangerous consequences, they clothed theirs with a piece of flattery, and told Alexander that it was not decent for one god to dedicate temples to another. The same judgment is to be made of the quotation brought by Hutchinson out of Pliny in relation to the wood of which the statue of the Ephesian Diana was made, since we find by this passage of Xenophon that the statue in the first temple was of gold. I am apt to believe, also, that the representations of the Ephesian Diana which are to be met with in several monuments of antiquity are all taken from the statue in the last temple. I am surprised that Montfaucon, in his account of the Diana of Ephesus, and of the various representations of that goddess, does not distinguish between the two temples and the two statues, but contents himself with quoting the same passage out of Pliny, to show the different opinions of people concerning the wood of which the statue was made. But to return to the Greek Diana, the Phrygian Rhœa, or the Egyptian Isis, all emblems of fecundity,—it is very observable that almost all the statues of the Ephesian Diana have a crab on the breast; of which Montfaucon, after he has given the opinions of the antiquaries, says the signification is uncertain. However uncertain it may be, I beg I may be allowed to offer a conjecture about it. Every one agrees that the representation of the Ephesian Diana was taken from the Egyptian Isis, and all authors, both ancient and modern, affirm that the overflowing of the Nile becomes remarkable generally at the summer solstice; how then could the Egyptians represent fertility better than by placing on the breast of their goddess Isis, or universal Nature, that sign in the zodiac which denotes the summer solstice, when the fertile water of the Nile begins to diffuse plenty over the face of their country? This hieroglyphical manner of representing fertility is agreeable to the genius of the Egyptians, who seem to have pursued it in the composition of their fictitious animal the sphinx, a figure composed of the body of a lion and the head of a virgin, with the same view of denoting plenty spread over Egypt by the overflowing of the Nile, during the time the sun pass

statue of the goddess is as like that of Ephesus as a statue of cypress can be to one of gold. Near to the temple stands a pillar with this inscription: "These lands are consecrated to Diana. Let the possessor offer up the tenth part of the annual produce in sacrifice, and out of the surplus keep the temple in repair. If he fails, the goddess will punish his neglect."

IV. From Cerazunt those who went on board before continued their voyage by sea, and the rest proceeded by land. When they came to the confines of the Mosynœcians, they sent Timesitheus of Trebisond to them, between whom and them there was an intercourse of hospitality, to ask them in their name whether they desired the Greeks should march through their country as friends or as enemies? The Mosynœcians answered it was equal to them; for they trusted to their places of strength. On this Timesitheus informed the Greeks that the Mosynœcians who inhabited the country beyond these were at enmity with them: so they resolved to send to this people to know whether they were disposed to enter into an alliance; and Timesitheus, being sent on this occasion, returned with their magistrates. When they arrived they had a conference with the generals of the Greeks, and Xenophon spoke to them in this manner, Timesitheus being the interpreter:

"O Mosynœcians! we propose to go to Greece by land, for we have no ships: but these people, who as we understand are your enemies, oppose our passage. You have it in your power, therefore, if you think proper, by entering into an alliance with us, both to take revenge of them for any injuries they may have formerly done you, and to keep them in subjection for the future. Consider then whether if you neg-

through the signs of the lion and virgin, which immediately follow the summer solstice; *sphang*, in Hebrew, from whence the word sphinx is visibly derived, signifying *overflowing*

lect this opportunity you are ever likely to be supported with so powerful an alliance." To this the chief magistrate of the Mosynœcians made answer, that he approved of this, and accepted our alliance. "Let us know, then," said Xenophon, "what use you propose to make of us if we become your allies? and of what service you can be to us in our passage?" They answered, "We have it in our power to make an irruption on the other side into the country of those who are enemies to us both, and to send hither ships with men, who will be both auxiliaries and your guides."

On these terms they gave their faith and received ours, and then returned. The next day they came back with three hundred canoes, three men being in each, two of whom, disembarking, stood to their arms in order of battle, and the third remained on board. These went away in their canoes, and the rest disposed themselves in the following manner. They drew up in several lines, each consisting of about one hundred men, which, like rows of dancers, faced one another; they had all bucklers made of the hides of white oxen with the hair on, and shaped like an ivy-leaf; and in their right hands a spear, six cubits in length, with a point on the upper part, and on the lower a ball of the same wood. They wore vests, which did not reach to their knees, of the thickness of the linen bags in which carpets are usually packed up; and on their heads helmets made of leather, like those of the Paphlagonians, from the middle of which there rose a tuft of hair braided to a point, resembling a tiara. They had also battle-axes made of iron. Then one of them led the way and all the rest followed singing also, and marching in time; when passing through the ranks of the Greeks as they stood to their arms, they advanced immediately against the enemy to a fort that seemed in no degree capable of making resistance. This fort stood before the city, which they called the metropolis, that con-

tained within it the most considerable citadel of the Mosynœcians. This citadel was the subject of the present war between them; for those who were in possession of it were always looked on to have the command of all the rest of the Mosynœcians: they told us that the others had seized this place contrary to all justice, it belonging to both nations in common, and by seizing it had gained the ascendant over them.

Some of the Greeks followed these men, not by the orders of their generals, but for the sake of plunder. The enemy on their approach kept themselves quiet for a time; but when they came near the fort they sallied out, and putting them to flight, killed many of the Barbarians together with some of the Greeks who were of the party, and pursued them till they saw the Greek army coming up to their assistance. On which they turned and fled; and cutting off the heads of the slain they showed them both to the Greeks and to the Mosynœcians their enemies; dancing at the same time, and singing a particular tune. This accident gave the Greeks great uneasiness, both because it encouraged the enemy and because their own men who were of the party in great numbers ran away; which had never happened before during the whole expedition. On this Xenophon called the soldiers together, and spoke to them in this manner: "Friends! do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by what has happened, for the good that attends it is not less than the evil. In the first place, this has convinced you that our guides are in reality enemies to those to whom we are so through necessity. Secondly, those Greeks who despised our discipline and thought themselves able to perform as great things in conjunction with the Barbarians as with us, are justly punished; so that for the future they will be less desirous of leaving our army. Prepare yourselves, therefore, to let those Barbarians who are your friends see that you are

superior to them in courage, and to show those who are your enemies that they will not find you the same men now as when they engaged you while you were in disorder."

Thus they passed this day. The next, as soon as they had offered sacrifice and found the victims favourable, they took their repast. After that, the army being drawn up in columns, and the Barbarians placed on their left in the same disposition, they went on, the archers marching in the intervals, a little within the foremost of the heavy-armed men; for the enemy's forlorn-hope, consisting of light-armed, advanced before the rest, and discharged a volley of stones among the Greeks. These were repulsed by the archers and targeteers. The rest marched slowly on, and first went against the fort, before which the Barbarians and the Greeks who were with them had been put to flight the day before; for here the enemy was drawn up. The Barbarians received the targeteers and fought with them: but when the heavy-armed men came up they fled; and the targeteers immediately followed, pursuing them up the hill to the metropolis, while the heavy-armed men marched on in their ranks. As soon as the Greeks had gained the top of the hill, and came to the houses of the metropolis, the enemy, being now got together in a body, engaged them, and launched their javelins; and with other spears which were of that length and thickness that a man could scarce wield one of them, they endeavoured to defend themselves hand to hand.

However, the Greeks pressing hard on them, and engaging them in a close fight, they fled, and presently all the Barbarians quitted the town. But their king, who resided in a wooden tower situated on an eminence (whom, while he resides there and guards the place, they maintain at the public expense), refused to leave it, as did also those who were in the place that was first taken; so they were burned there,

together with their towers. The Greeks, in sacking the town, found in the houses great heaps of bread, made according to the custom of the country the year before, as the Mosynœcians assured us; and the new corn laid up in the straw; most of it was spelt. They found also dolphins cut to pieces lying in pickle in jars; and in other vessels the fat of the same fish, which the Mosynœcians used as the Greeks do oil. In their garrets were great quantities of chestnuts. These they boiled, and generally used instead of bread. There was found wine also, which, when unmixed, was so rough that it appeared sour, but being mixed with water became both fragrant and sweet.

The Greeks, having dined there, went forward, delivering up the place to those Mosynœcians who had assisted them in taking it. As for the rest of the towns they arrived at which belonged to the enemy, the easiest of access were either abandoned or surrendered; the greatest part of which are as follows: they are distant from one another eighty stadia, some more and some less; and yet, when the inhabitants call out to one another they can be heard from one town to another, so mountainous and so hollow is the country. The Greeks, proceeding still forwards, arrived among their allies, who showed them boys belonging to the rich men fattened with boiled chestnuts: their skin was delicate and exceeding white, and they were very near as thick as they were long. Their backs were painted with various colours, and all their foreparts impressed with flowers. The people of this country, both men and women, are very fair. All the army agreed that these were the most barbarous people they had met with in all their expedition, and the most distant from the manners of the Greeks: for they do those things in public which others do in private, otherwise they dare not do them at all; and in private they behave themselves as if they were in public. They talk to

themselves, they laugh by themselves, and dance wherever they happen to be, as if they were showing their skill to others. The Greeks were eight days in passing through the enemy's country and that which belonged to the Mosynœcians their allies.

V. After that they arrived among the Chalybians. These are few in number, and subject to the Mosynœcians; and the greatest part of them subsist by the manufacture of iron. From thence they came to the Tibarenians. This is a much more champaign country, and their towns near the sea are not so strong. These the generals were disposed to attack, that the army might have the advantage of some plunder. For this reason they declined receiving the presents which the Tibarenians sent them as a token of hospitality: but having ordered those who brought them to wait till they had conferred together, they offered sacrifice; and after many victims were slain, all the priests agreed that the gods by no means allowed them to make war on this people. Hereon they accepted their presents, and marching as through a country belonging to their friends they came to Cotyora, a Greek city, and a colony of the Synopians, situated in the territory of the Tibarenians.

Thus far the army travelled by land, having in their retreat from the field of battle near Babylon to Cotyora, made in one hundred and twenty-two marches six hundred and twenty parasangs, that is, eighteen thousand six hundred stadia, in which they spent eight months. Here they staid forty-five days; during which they first offered sacrifice to the gods; then dividing themselves according to their several nations, made processions, and celebrated gymnic games. After that they went out to get provisions, taking some out of Paphlagonia, and the rest out of the country of the Cotyorians; for they refused to supply them with a market, or to admit their sick into the city.



In the mean time ambassadors arrived from Sinope; these were in pain both for the city of the Cotyrians which belonged to them and paid them tribute, and for the country which they heard was plundered. When they came to the camp of the Greeks they spoke thus (Hecatonymus, who was esteemed a man of great eloquence, speaking for the rest): "Friends! the city of Sinope has sent us hither, first to commend you, for that being Greeks you have overcome the Barbarians; next, to congratulate you on your safe arrival through many and, as we are informed, grievous hardships. But we have reason to expect that, as we are Greeks also, we shall rather receive favours than injuries from Greeks; particularly since we have never provoked you by any ill-treatment. I must acquaint you, then, that Cotyora is our colony, and that having conquered this country from the Barbarians we have given it to them. For which reason they pay us the tribute at which they are taxed, in the same manner with the inhabitants of Cerazunt and Trebisond; so that whatever injury you do them the city of Sinope will look on it as done to themselves. Now we are informed that you have entered their town by force; that some of you are quartered in their houses, and that you take what you want out of the country without their consent. These things we cannot approve of; and if you continue this behaviour we shall be obliged to enter into an alliance with Corylas and the Paphlagonians, and with any other nation we can prevail on to assist us."

Then Xenophon rose up and spoke thus in behalf of the soldiers: "We are come hither, O men of Sinope! well satisfied with having preserved our persons and our arms; for to bring our booty along with us, and at the same time to fight with our enemies, was impossible. And now, since we arrived among the Greek cities at Trebisond, for example, we paid for all the provisions we had because they supplied us with a market; and in return for the

honours they did us, and the presents they gave to the army, we paid them all respect, injuring none of those Barbarians who were their friends, and doing all the mischief we were able to their enemies, against whom they led us. Inquire of them what usage they have received from us; for the guides which that city has sent along with us through friendship are here present. But wherever we find no market provided for us, whether among the Barbarians or Greeks, we supply ourselves with provisions, not through insolence, but necessity. Thus we made the Carduchians, the Chaldæans, and the Taochians (though no subjects of the king, yet very warlike nations) our enemies, by being obliged to take what we wanted, because they refused to supply us with a market; while we treated the Macronians, though Barbarians, as friends, and took nothing from them by force, because they supplied us with the best market they were able. And if we have taken any thing from the Cotyrians, who you say are your subjects, they are themselves the cause of it; for they have not behaved themselves to us as friends; but, shutting their gates, would neither suffer us to come within their walls nor supply us with a market without: and of this they lay the fault on the person you have sent hither as their governor. As to what you say concerning our quartering in their houses by force, we desired them to receive our sick under their roofs: they refusing to open the gates, we passed through them into the city without committing any other act of violence, and our sick lodge now in their houses, without putting them to any expense. We have, it is true, placed a guard at the gates, that our people may not be under the power of your governor, but that we may be at liberty to carry them away whenever we may think proper. The rest of us, as you see, encamp in order in the open air, prepared if any one does us a favour to return it, if an injury to resent it. You threaten!

I.—P

to enter into an alliance with Corylas and the Paphlagonians, if you see convenient, against us. Know then, that if you force us to it we will encounter you both, for we have already engaged much more numerous enemies; besides, we have it also in our power, if we think fit, to enter into an alliance with the Paphlagonian; for we are informed that he wants to make himself master both of your city and of the maritime towns. We shall therefore endeavour, by assisting him in attaining what he desires, to gain his friendship."

On this the rest of the ambassadors showed a visible dislike of what Hecatonymus had said; and another of them, advancing, said they were not come to declare war, but to express their friendship. "And if," said he, "you think fit to come to Sinope, we will receive you in a hospitable manner; and for the present, directions shall be given to the inhabitants of this place to supply you with every thing; for we are sensible you advance nothing but what is true." After this the Cotyrians sent presents to the army, and the generals of the Greeks also treated the ambassadors with all hospitality. They all conferred together a considerable time in a very friendly manner; and, among other things, the generals inquired concerning the remainder of the way, and both of every thing that related to their respective concerns. And thus ended that day.

VI. The next day the generals thought proper to call the soldiers together, and to consider of the rest of their march, in the presence of the Sinopians; for if they determined to travel by land, they thought these might be of service to conduct them, for they were well acquainted with Paphlagonia; and if by sea, they imagined they should also want the assistance of the Sinopians, for they alone seemed capable of providing a sufficient number of ships to transport them. Calling, therefore, the ambassadors, they consulted together; and the generals desired that, as

they themselves were Greeks, they would first show their hospitality by their benevolence to Greeks, and by giving them the best advice they were able.

Then Hecatonymus rose up, and first made an apology for having said that they would enter into an alliance with the Paphlagonian; alleging that he did not say this with a view of making war on the Greeks, but to let them see, that having it in their power to make an alliance with the Barbarians, they preferred that of the Greeks. Being called on to give his advice, he first invoked the gods; then said thus: "If the advice I am going to give you appears to me the best, may I be prosperous; otherwise, miserable! for the present counsel seems to be of the nature of those which are termed holy. If, therefore, I am found to advise you well, I shall have many to applaud me; and if ill, many to curse me. I am sensible then that we shall have much more trouble if you return by sea; for in that case we shall be obliged to supply you with ships: whereas, if you go by land, it will be incumbent on you to fight your way through. However, I must speak what I think; for I am well acquainted both with the country of the Paphlagonians and with their strength. Their country contains many very fair plains, and mountains of a prodigious height. And, first of all, I know the place where you must of necessity enter it; for there is but one pass, and that lies between two points of a rock exceeding high. These a very few men posted there may defend; and if the enemy are once masters of this pass, all the men in the world cannot force their way. This I can make appear to any one you think proper to send along with me. On the other side of this pass, I am well assured, you will find plains, and on them a body of horse, which the Barbarians themselves think exceeds all the cavalry the king is master of. These, though lately summoned, did not attend him, their commander being too haughty to obey. But

admit you could even seize the pass between these mountains unobserved, and prevent the enemy, and afterward in the plain defeat their horse and foot, whose numbers amount to above one hundred and twenty thousand men, you will still find several rivers in your way. First, the Thermodon, which is three hundred feet over; the passage of which seems to me very difficult, particularly when you have a numerous army in front, and another in your rear. Secondly, the Iris: this is also three hundred feet broad. The third river you will meet with is the Halys, not less than two stadia in breadth. This you cannot pass without boats; and who is there to supply you with them? The Parthenius is in like manner impassable. This river you would arrive at if you could pass the Halys. So that I do not look on this road as only difficult, but absolutely impassable. Whereas, if you go by sea, you may sail from hence to Sinope, and from Sinope to Heraclea; and from Heraclea there will be no difficulty, either in going by land or by sea; for there you will find great numbers of ships."

When he had done speaking, some suspected he said this out of friendship to Corylas, for there was an intercourse of hospitality between them; others, that he expected to be rewarded for his advice; and some, that he said it, fearing lest, if they went by land, they should do some damage to the country of the Sinopians. However, the Greeks voted to go by sea. After that, Xenophon said: "O men of Sinope! the soldiers have determined to go in the manner you advise. But thus the case stands. We are contented to go by sea, provided we are furnished with such a number of ships that not a man of us shall be left behind. But if it is proposed that some of us should be left, and some set sail, we are resolved not to go on board at all: because we are sensible, that wherever we are the strongest we shall not only be safe, but get provisions also; and that if we are any

where found weaker than our enemies, we expect no better usage than to be made slaves." The Sinopians, hearing this, desired the Greeks to send ambassadors to them, and accordingly they sent Callimachus an Arcadian, Ariston an Athenian, and Samylas an Achaian; who set out immediately.

In the mean time Xenophon, considering the great number of Greek heavy-armed men, of targeteers, archers, slingers, and horse, who by long experience were now become good troops, looked on it as an enterprise of great reputation to add to the acquisitions of Greece that of a country, with the power annexed to it, by building a city on the Euxine Sea, where so great an army could not be got together without a vast expense. He had reason to think this city would grow considerable, both from the number of his own men and of the neighbouring inhabitants. Calling, therefore, Silanus of Ambracia to him, the same who had been soothsayer to Cyrus, he offered sacrifice on this occasion, before he communicated his thoughts to any of the soldiers. But Silanus, fearing this should take effect, and that the army would settle in some place, acquainted the soldiers that Xenophon proposed to detain them there, and by building a city to acquire reputation and power to himself. The design of Silanus in this was to get to Greece as soon as possible, having saved the three thousand daricks which he received from Cyrus when, sacrificing by his order, he told him the truth concerning the ten days. As soon as the soldiers were informed of this, some thought it was best for them to stay there; but the greater part disapproved of it; and Timasion the Dardanian and Thorax the Bœotian told some merchants of Heraclea and Sinope, who were present, that if they did not supply the men with money sufficient to buy provisions when they set sail, they were in danger of having so great an army settle in their neighbourhood. "For," said they, "Xenophon is the author

of this resolution, and advises us, as soon as the ships arrive, immediately to speak to the army in these terms: 'Friends! we observe you are at a loss both now to get provisions for your journey, and enrich your families in some measure when you reach home; but if you have a mind to make choice of some part of the inhabited country that lies round the Euxine Sea, and possess yourselves of it, and that those who are desirous to return home may go away, while the rest stay here, we are now furnished with ships for that purpose; so that you have it in your power to make an unexpected descent on any part of the country you think fit.'"

The merchants, hearing this, informed their cities of it; and Timasion of Dardanus sent Eurymachus, also of Dardanus, and Thoras of Bœotia, with them to confirm it. As soon as the inhabitants of Sinope and Heraclea were acquainted with this, they sent to Timasion to engage him, in consideration of a sum of money, to persuade the army to sail out of the Euxine Sea. He was pleased with the offer, and spoke thus to the assembly of the soldiers: "Friends! we ought not to think of staying here, or to prefer any other country to Greece. I hear some people are offering sacrifice on this occasion, without even acquainting you with their purpose; but I promise you, if you sail from hence, the first day of the month to give each of you a cyzicene<sup>1</sup> for your monthly pay.

<sup>1</sup> Hesychius and Phavorinus inform us, that the cyzicene was a coin famous for being well struck; and that it had a woman's head on one side; to which Suidas adds, that on the other was the head of a lion. Demosthenes tells us, they were worth twenty-eight Attic drachms, that is, 18s. 1d. sterling. The woman's head is possibly Cybele, who was supposed to be drawn by lions, and who was worshipped in a particular manner at Pessinus in Phrygia, not far from Cyzicus, whose tutelary god, however, was, I imagine, Hercules, whom they looked on as the founder of their city, as may be seen by a medal of Domitian, on the reverse of which is a Hercules with this inscription: ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ. But we have great reason to conclude, that the woman's head is designed for Cybele, from what we find in Strabo, who says, that near to Cyzicus stood a temple of Cybele, built by the Argonauts on the mountain Dindymon, from which Cybele was called Diindymene

My design is to lead you into Troas, from whence I am banished; where my fellow-citizens will assist you, for I know they will receive me with pleasure. Thence I propose to carry you to those parts where you shall enrich yourselves; for I am acquainted with Æolia, Phrygia, and Troas, and with all the country belonging to the government of Pharnabazus; with one of them by being born there, and with the other by having served there under Clearchus and Dercyllidas."

Immediately Thorax the Bœotian, who had a perpetual contest with Xenophon for the command, rose up and said, if they sailed out of the Euxine Sea they might settle in the Chersonesus, a country of great beauty and fertility, where those who were willing might inhabit, and from whence those who were not so might return home. He added, that it was ridiculous to hunt after lands among the Barbarians, when others of a great extent offered themselves in Greece. "And till you arrive there," said he, "I, as well as Timasion, promise you pay." This he said from being acquainted with what the inhabitants of Heraclea and Sinope had promised to Timasion, on condition the army set sail. All this time Xenophon was silent. Then Philesius and Lycon, both Achaïans, said it was not to be suffered that Xenophon should persuade the soldiers in private to stay, and offer sacrifice on this occasion, without letting the army partake of the sacrifice, yet say nothing of all this in public. So that he was under a necessity of rising up, and of speaking as follows:

"Friends! I offer sacrifice, as you are sensible, to the utmost of my abilities, both for you and myself,

This being so, the globe and the fish, and particularly the ears of corn and bunches of grapes with which she is crowned, will be very proper symbols of universal nature. which, as I endeavoured to show on another occasion, was represented by Cybele. D'Abblancourt is of opinion that the Turkish sequin is derived from Cyziquin; but Menage says that it comes from the Italian zecchino, a Venetian ducat, which takes its name from Zecca, the place where it is coined.



to the end that my words, my thoughts, and actions may be employed in those things that are most for the credit and advantage of us all. And even now I was consulting the gods by sacrifice, whether it would be more expedient to mention this and treat with you about it, or not to concern myself at all in the matter. Here Silanus the soothsayer assured me that the victims, which is of the greatest moment, were favourable; for he knew that I, by being constantly present at the sacrifices, was not unacquainted with these things; but informed me, at the same time, that according to them some fraud and treachery seemed to threaten me: and in this indeed he was in the right, since he himself designed treacherously to accuse me before you; for he has spread a report that I had already purposed to effect this without your approbation. But the truth is, when I saw you in want, I considered by what means you might possess yourselves of some town, to the end that those among you who are willing might set sail immediately, and that those who were not so might stay until they had acquired something to carry home to their families. But now I find both the inhabitants of Heraclea and Sinope are sending us ships, and that these men promise you your pay from the beginning of the month, I look on it as an advantageous circumstance for us to be conducted with safety to the place we desire, and to be paid for being preserved. For this reason I not only give over all thoughts of that kind myself, but desire those who came to me to declare themselves in favour of that measure to desist also: for this is my sense of the matter; while you continue together as you are now in great numbers, you will be sure to find esteem, and never to want provisions, for victory carries with it a right to whatever belongs to the conquered. But if you suffer yourselves to be divided, and the army to be broken into small bodies, you will neither be able to find subsistence, nor have reason to be pleased

with your treatment. My opinion, therefore, is the same with yours, that we ought to go on to Greece: and, further, if any one stays behind, or is taken endeavouring to desert his companions before the whole army arrives in a place of safety, that he be punished as an offender. And whoever is of this opinion, let him hold up his hand." And they all held up their hands.

However, Silanus cried out, and endeavoured to show that every one ought to be at liberty to go away. This the soldiers would not bear, but threatened him, if they took him endeavouring to make his escape, to inflict the punishment on him. After this, when the inhabitants of Heraclea were informed that the Greeks had resolved to sail out of the Euxine Sea, and that Xenophon himself had put the question, they sent the ships, but disappointed Timasion and Thorax of the money they had promised them to pay the soldiers. Hereon those who undertook for it were confounded, and afraid of the army; and taking with them the rest of the generals who were privy to their former designs (these were all, except Neon the Asinian, who commanded under Chirisophus, then absent), they came to Xenophon, and told him they were sorry for what had passed, and thought the best thing they could do, since they had ships, was to sail to the river Phasis, and possess themselves of the country belonging to the Phasians, of whom the son of Ætas was at that time king. Xenophon made answer that he would mention nothing of this kind to the army: "But," said he, "do you assemble them, and if you think fit, propose it." On this Timasion the Dardanian gave his opinion, that they ought not to call the soldiers together; but that each of the generals should first endeavour to persuade his own captains to come into it. So they departed to put this in execution.

VII. In the mean time the soldiers were informed of what was in agitation; and Neon told them that

Xenophon, having prevailed on the rest of the generals, designed to deceive the army, and carry them back to the Phasis. The soldiers, hearing this, resented it, and holding assemblies and private meetings among themselves, gave great reason to apprehend they would break out into the same violences they had committed on the persons of the heralds of the Colchians, and the commissaries of provisions, all of whom they had stoned to death, except those who escaped to the sea. As soon as Xenophon perceived this he resolved immediately to call the army together, and not to suffer them to meet of their own accord: so he ordered the crier to assemble them. They readily obeyed the summons. Then Xenophon, without accusing the other generals of coming to him privately, spoke to them in the following manner:

“I am informed, friends! that some people accuse me of a design to deceive you and carry you to the Phasis. Hear me, therefore, for heaven’s sake, and if I appear guilty, I do not desire to depart hence before I receive the punishment that is due to my crime: but if they find they accuse me wrongfully, I hope you will treat them as they deserve. I make no doubt but you all know in what quarter the sun rises and where it sets; and that the way to Greece lies westward, that to the Barbarians eastward. Is there any one, therefore, who can make you believe that the sun rises where it sets, and sets where it rises? You are also sensible that the north wind carries you out of the Euxine Sea to Greece, and the south to the Phasis; and when the wind is in the north, you always say it is fair for Greece. Can any one, therefore, so far impose on you, as to persuade you to go on board when the wind is in the south? But suppose I embark you in a calm: I shall, however, sail but in one ship, while you sail at least in a hundred. How, therefore, can I either compel you to keep me company against your consent, or deceive you with regard to the place to which I carry you?

But let us further suppose that I do deceive you, and by some magic art carry you to the Phasis, and also that we land there; you will soon be sensible that you are not in Greece; and I who have deceived you shall be but one man, while you who have been deceived by me will be near ten thousand, with your arms in your hands. By what means, therefore, can one man court punishment more effectually than by forming designs so prejudicial both to himself and you? But these rumours are spread by weak men who envy me because I am honoured by you; though without reason: for which of them do I hinder from proposing any thing for your advantage, if he can, from fighting both for you or himself, if he is willing, or from watching for your safety, if he is disposed to undertake that care? Why should I hinder them? When you choose your commanders, do I oppose the pretensions of any person? I resign: let him take the command; only let him make it appear he can do something for your advantage. But I have said enough of this. If any of you thinks himself in danger of being deceived, or that any other person has deceived him in this, let him declare it; but since you have heard enough of this subject, I desire you would not depart until I have acquainted you with a thing that I find begins to show itself in the army; which, if it makes any progress, and becomes what it threatens to be, it is high time for us to take proper measures, that we may not appear both to gods and men, to friends and enemies, the most abandoned and most infamous of all men, and consequently incur a general contempt." The soldiers, hearing this, wondered what it might be, and desired him to go on; so he resumed his discourse. "You know there were some towns on the mountains belonging to those Barbarians who were in alliance with the inhabitants of Cerazunt; from whence some of the people came down to us, and sold us cattle and other things. Some of you, I believe, went into the nearest of these

towns, and after you had bought provisions there, returned to the camp. Clearatus, one of the captains, finding this place both small and unguarded, because the inhabitants looked on themselves to be in friendship with us, marched against them in the night, with a design to plunder it, without acquainting any of us with his purpose: for he determined, if he had made himself master of the place, to have returned no more to the army, but to have gone on board the ship in which his companions were sailing by the coast, and with his booty to have escaped out of the Euxine Sea. And all this was concerted between him and his companions who were on board, as I am now informed. Calling, therefore, together as many as he could prevail on to follow him, he led them against the town. But the day surprising them in their march, the inhabitants got together, and defended themselves from their strong places so well, both with missile weapons and their swords, that Clearatus himself and several others were slain; part of them, however, escaped to Cerazunt. This happened the same day we left Cerazunt to march hither. Some of those also who were to sail along the coast were still in that city, having not as yet weighed anchor. After this, as the inhabitants of Cerazunt inform us, three of the elders came from the town, desiring to be introduced to the assembly of the Greeks; but not finding us, they told the citizens of Cerazunt they wondered what we meant by attacking them. These assured them that the attempt was not countenanced by public authority; with which they were very well satisfied, and resolved to sail hither, in order to give us an account of what had passed, and to let us know that they gave leave to those who were willing to carry off the dead and bury them. It happened that some of the Greeks who had fled to Cerazunt were still there. These, perceiving whither the Barbarians purposed to go, had the confidence to throw stones at them themselves, and to encourage

others to do the same. By this means these ambassadors, being three in number, were stoned to death. After the fact was committed, some of the inhabitants of Cerazunt came to the generals and informed us of what had happened. These proceedings gave us great concern, and we consulted together with them in what manner the Greeks who were slain might be buried. While we were sitting in consultation without the quarter of the heavy-armed men, on a sudden we heard a great uproar, and people crying out, "Knock them down! knock them down! stone them! stone them!" and immediately we saw great numbers running to those who cried out, some with stones in their hands, others taking them up. On this the inhabitants of Cerazunt, having been witnesses of what had happened in their own town, were frightened, and ran to their ships: some of us also, I do assure you, were not without fear. For my part, I went directly up to them, and asked them what the matter was? Some of those I inquired of knew nothing about it; yet had stones in their hands. At last meeting with one who did know, he told me that the commissaries of provisions oppressed the army in a most grievous manner. While he was saying this one of the soldiers perceived the commissary Zelarchus retiring towards the sea, and cried out; the rest hearing this, as if a wild boar or a stag had been roused, ran at him. The citizens of Cerazunt, seeing the soldiers making towards them, and thinking themselves aimed at, fled in all haste, and ran into the sea. Some of our men ran in after them, and those who could not swim were drowned. What

<sup>1</sup> Literally, attack them both sword in hand and with missile weapons, *cominus eminusque incessit*, which, I should think, might do as well as *cæde, cæde, feri, feri*, in the Latin translations. I have considered the Greeks here as a mob, which they were on this occasion, and have consequently made use of terms very familiar to an English mob in tumults. For the same reason I think D'Ablancourt has said very properly, *tue, tue*, though I am very sensible that the French troops use this word when they pursue the enemy, as they call it, *l'épée dans les reins*.

Do you think these men were afraid of? They had committed no crime; they must imagine that some madness, like that of dogs, had seized our men. If these things continue, consider what will be the condition of the army. You will not have it in your power, by a general consent, to make either war or peace, as you see convenient; but every private man may lead the army on whatever enterprise he pleases. And if at any time ambassadors come to you to sue for peace, or for any thing else, any one may put them to death, and thereby prevent your being informed of their demands. The consequence of which will be, that those whom you, by a general voice, appoint to command you, will be no longer regarded; but whoever erects himself to be your general, and pleases to cry "Stone them! stone them!" may, if he finds the same obedience that was lately given, put to death not only your commander, but any private man, untried. Consider what services these self-elected generals have done for us. If Zelarchus the commissary is guilty, he has, by sailing away, escaped punishment; if he is innocent, he has left the army from the fear of being unjustly put to death without trial. Those who have stoned the ambassadors have done you this piece of service—they have made it unsafe for you alone, of all the Greeks, to go to Cerazunt without a force sufficient to protect you; and not less so even with a herald to bring off your dead, whom before this the same persons who killed them gave you leave to bury: for who that had a hand in killing heralds will serve in that capacity? However, we have desired the citizens of Cerazunt to bury them. If these things are right, give them a public sanction, that as attempts of this kind are to be expected, every man may be on his guard, and endeavour to pitch his tent on places of advantage and strength. But if you look on them rather as the actions of wild beasts than of men, consider how to put a stop to them: otherwise, how

in the name of the gods shall we offer sacrifice with cheerfulness, if we are guilty of impiety? or how shall we fight with our enemies, if we kill one another? What city will receive us as friends, when they see us guilty of such enormities? Who will bring provisions to us with any confidence, if we are found to offend in things of so great moment? As to the applause which we promised ourselves with so much confidence, who will speak well of us if we dishonour ourselves by such actions? For I am well assured that we should condemn others were they guilty of them."

On this they all rose up, and said the authors of these disorders should be punished; that it should be unlawful to begin such enormities for the future, and that those who were guilty of it should be put to death. They then ordered that the generals should bring them all to their trial; where it should be inquired whether any person had received any other injury since the death of Cyrus; and appointed the captains to be the judges. At the same time, on Xenophon's motion, and the concurrence of the priests, it was resolved to purify the army. And the army was purified accordingly.

VIII. They further decreed that the generals themselves should be called to an account for their past conduct; and on their trial Philesius and Xanthicles were condemned in a fine of twenty minæ, to the amount of which sum they had embezzled the effects that had been taken out of the ships, and committed to their charge. Sophænetus was fined ten minæ, for that, being chosen a commander, he had neglected his duty. Some accused Xenophon, complaining they had been beaten by him, and brought their accusation against him for abusing them. On this, Xenophon, rising up, desired the first person who appeared against him to acquaint the judges where he had been beaten. He answered, "where we were dying with cold, and there was abundance of snow."



Xenophon replied, "If, during the storm you speak of, when we had no victuals, nor so much wine as would serve us to smell to; when many of us were spent with labour, and the enemy at our heels; if in that season I was abusive, I own myself more vicious than asses,<sup>1</sup> which, through viciousness, are said to be insensible of fatigue. However, say for what reason you were beaten. Did I demand any thing of you, and beat you because you refused it? Did I insist on your restoring any thing? Was it in struggling to subdue you to my passion, or when I was drunk, that I abused you?" And on his saying that it was nothing of all this, Xenophon asked him "whether he belonged to the heavy-armed men?" He answered, "No." "If to the targeteers?" "Neither," said he; "but I was driving a mule, at the desire of my comrades, being a free man." On this Xenophon called him to mind, and asked him, "Are you not the man who carried a sick person?" "The same," said he; "for you forced me to it, and threw about the baggage that belonged to my comrades." "But," said Xenophon, "in this manner I threw about their baggage; I distributed it to others to carry, with orders to return it to me; and having received every thing safe, I restored them to you, after you had shown me the man I gave you in charge. But I desire," said he, "you will hear how this matter was, for it is well worth while.

"One of the men, being unable to continue his march, was left behind. This man I knew no otherwise than that he belonged to the army; however, I obliged you to carry him, that he might not perish: for, as I remember, the enemy were at our heels." This the other confessed. "Then," said Xenophon, "after I had ordered you to go before, I quickly overtook you again, as I came up with the rear-guard, and found you digging a pit, with a design to bury

<sup>1</sup> Everybody knows that asses, and mules their offspring, have such an inbred viciousness, that no fatigue can subdue it.

the man; and stopping, I commended you: but the man drawing in his leg while we stood by, all who were present cried out that he was alive; and you said whatever you thought fit, as, 'I will not carry him.' On which I struck you, you say, and you say true; for you seemed to me to be sensible that the man was alive." "But," said the other, "did he die the less after I showed him to you?" "We must all die," replied Xenophon, "but are we for that reason to be buried alive?" At this they all cried out that he had not beaten him so much as he deserved. Then Xenophon desired the rest to inform the judges for what reason each of them had been beaten; but they not rising up, he spoke thus:

"I own, friends, that I have struck a great many of the men for not keeping their ranks. These ought to have been contented with being preserved by your means, while you marched in order, and fought where it was necessary; but instead of that, they wanted to leave their ranks, and run before you for plunder, that they might have the advantage over you. Had we all done the same we had all been destroyed. I own, also, that finding some overcome with sloth, unwilling to rise, and ready to abandon themselves to the enemy, I struck them, and forced them to march: for being myself once obliged, when it was excessively cold, to stay for some of the men who were getting their baggage ready, and sitting for a considerable time, I found myself scarcely able to rise and stretch out my leg. Having, therefore, had the experience of this in myself, afterward, when I saw any one sitting down, and indulging his sloth, I drove him before me; for motion and vigorous efforts created warmth and suppleness, while sitting down and rest, I observed, made the blood to congeal, and the toes to rot off; which you are sensible was the case of a great many. Others, who suffered themselves to be left behind through laziness, and by that means hindered you, who were in the van, and us,

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who were in the rear, from advancing, I might possibly strike with my fist, that they might not be struck by the spear of the enemy. These, therefore, who have been thus preserved may, if they have suffered any unjust treatment from me, now be relieved: whereas, had they fallen under the power of the enemy, what relief could they have had, though their treatment had been ever so grievous? I speak to you in all simplicity. If I have punished any one for his own good, I am willing to submit to the same chastisement that parents receive from their children, and masters from their scholars. Physicians also use incisions and caustics for the good of their patients. If you imagine I did these things through insolence, consider with yourselves, that now, with the assistance of the gods, I entertain greater hopes and confidence than at that time, and drink more wine, yet strike no man; for I see you are now in a calm. But when a storm arises, and the sea runs high, do not you find that the pilot, for a nod only, quarrels with those who are at the head of the ship, and the steersman with those at the stern? because, on those occasions, the least fault is enough to ruin every thing. You yourselves then determined that their chastisement was just; for you were present with arms in your hands, to assist them if you had thought proper, not with billets to give your votes in their behalf. However, in reality, you neither assisted them in escaping the punishment due to their irregularity, nor me in inflicting it. Thus, by suffering their insolence, you have given a sanction to their remissness: for I am of opinion, if you observe, you will find that those who were then most remarkable for their neglect of duty are now so for their insolence. An instance of this you see in Boiscus, the Thessalian boxer: he then contended, under pretence of sickness, not to carry his shield; and now, I am informed, he has stripped several of the inhabitants of Cotyora. If you are wise, therefore, your

treatment of this man will be the reverse of that bestowed on dogs; for these when they are cursed, are tied up in the daytime, and let loose in the night; whereas, if you do well, you will tie him up in the night, and let him loose in the day. I own I am surprised to find, that if I have given offence to any of you, you call it to mind, and publish it; but if I have defended any from the cold, or from the enemy, or relieved them when they were sick, or in want, these things are remembered by none of you: if I have commended any for a proper behaviour, or honoured brave men to the utmost of my power, these things also are not remembered. Yet it is certain there is more honesty, justice, piety, and pleasure in remembering good than ill offices."

On this the assembly rose, and called to mind what was passed: so Xenophon was acquitted, and all was well.

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## BOOK VI.

CHAP. I. FROM this time some of the Greeks, while they staid here, subsisted themselves by the provisions they bought in the market, and others by those they got in plundering the country of Paphlagonia. On the other hand, the Paphlagonians lost no opportunity of robbing the stragglers, and in the nighttime endeavoured to annoy those who were encamped in places more advanced than the rest. These proceedings increased the ill-blood that was between them. On this Corylas, who was at that time governor of Paphlagonia, sent ambassadors to the Greeks in costly robes and well mounted, with instructions to acquaint them that Corylas desired neither to do an injury to the Greeks nor receive any from them. To this the generals answered that they

would consider of it with the army. In the mean time they entertained them with all hospitality, and invited such of the army as they judged most proper; then having killed some of the oxen they had taken, and other cattle, they gave them a handsome entertainment, the company lying on beds made of brushwood covered with grass and leaves, and drinking out of horn cups which they found in the country.

As soon as the libations were over, and they had sung the pæan, two Thracians first rose up, and danced with their arms to the sound of a flute: they capered very high and with great agility; then made use of their swords. At last one of them struck the other in such a manner, that every one thought he had killed him, but the stroke was given with art, on which the Paphlagonians cried out; and the other having despoiled him of his arms, went out singing a song of triumph in honour of Sitalcas: then other Thracians carried off the man as if he had been dead, though indeed he was not hurt. After this some Ænians and Magnesians rose up and danced, in their arms, what they call the carpæan dance; the manner of which is as follows: One of them, having laid down his arms, sows, and drives a yoke of oxen, looking often behind him as if he were afraid; then a robber approaches, whom the other perceiving, he catches up his arms, and advancing fights with him in defence of his oxen; and all this these men performed in time to the flute. At last the robber binds the ploughman, and carries him off with the oxen. Sometimes the ploughman overcomes the robber, and fastening him to the oxen, ties his hands behind him, and so drives him away.

After this Mysus entered with a buckler in each hand, and danced sometimes as if he had been engaged with two adversaries; then used his bucklers if engaged with only one: sometimes he whirled round, then threw himself head foremost, and fell on his feet, without parting with the bucklers: this

made a fine sight. Last of all he danced the Persian dance, striking his bucklers against each other, and in dancing fell on his knees, then sprung up again; and in all this he kept time to the flute. He was succeeded by some Mantineans and other Arcadians, who, being dressed in the handsomest armour they could provide, rose up and advanced in time to a flute that played a martial air. They sung the pæan, and danced in the same manner that is practised in solemn processions. The Paphlagonians were amazed to see all these dances performed by men in arms. On this Mysus, perceiving their astonishment, prevailed on one of the Arcadians, who had a woman dancer, to let him bring her in; which he did accordingly, after he had dressed her in the handsomest manner he was able, and given her a light buckler. She danced the Pyrrhic dance<sup>1</sup> with great agility: on which there was great clapping; and the Paphlagonians asked whether the women also charged with their troops. The others answered, that it was they who drove the king out of their camp. This was the end of that night's entertainment.

The next day the generals brought the ambassadors to the army; when the soldiers came to a resolution neither to do any injury to the Paphlagonians, nor suffer any from them. After that the ambassadors departed; and the Greeks, finding they had as many ships as they wanted, embarked and sailed with a fair wind all that day and the next night, keeping Paphlagonia on their left hand; and the day after they arrived at Sinope, and anchored in Harmene, one of its ports. Sinope is situated in Paphlagonia: it is a colony of the Milesians. The inhabitants sent the Greeks, as a mark of hospitality, three thousand medimni of flour, and fifteen hundred

<sup>1</sup> Homer tells us that Vulcan represented two dancers performing a dance of this kind on Achilles' shield: and Tournefort says that the Turkish dervises preserve this kind of dancing, which they make a religious ceremony; and that on a signal from their superior, they turn round with an amazing velocity.

ceramia of wine. Hither Chirisophus came with some galleys. The soldiers expected he would bring them something: however he brought nothing, but gave them an account that both Anaxibius the admiral, and the rest of the Lacedæmonians celebrated their praise, and that the former promised them, if they would come out of the Euxine Sea, they would have pay.

The soldiers staid five days at Harmene; and looking on themselves to be in the neighbourhood of Greece, they were more desirous than before to carry some booty home with them. They thought if they made choice of one general, that single person would find a readier obedience from the army, both by night and day, than if the command were vested in many: where it was necessary for him to conceal his designs, he would conceal them better; and where to prevent the enemy, he would use greater expedition, for there would then be no need of conferences, but whatever that single person resolved on would be put in execution: for hitherto in all operations the generals were governed by the majority. While they had these things under consideration, they cast their eyes on Xenophon; and the captains came to him and acquainted him with the resolution of the army; and each of them expressing his affection to him, endeavoured to prevail on him to undertake the command. Xenophon was not averse to it, when he considered that he should by this means increase both his credit with his friends, and his reputation in his country, and that possibly also he might be the cause of some advantage to the army.

These considerations led him to desire to be commander-in-chief. On the other hand, when he reflected that future events being concealed from all mankind, he might for that reason run a hazard of losing the glory he had already gained, he was in suspense.

While he was in this doubt he thought the best thing could do was to consult the gods: in the presence,

therefore, of two priests, he offered sacrifice to Jupiter the king, to whom he was directed by the oracle of Delphos to address himself; and whom he looked on to be the author of the dream he had, when, together with the other generals, he was first appointed to take charge of the army. He called to mind also, that when he left Ephesus in order to be presented to Cyrus, an eagle<sup>1</sup> cried on his right, sitting however on the ground, which the priest who accompanied him said was an omen that portended something great, and above a private station, something illustrious, though toilsome; for other birds attack the eagle chiefly when she is sitting on the ground. He added that the omen foretold nothing lucrative, because when the eagle preys she is generally on the wing. While, therefore, he was offering sacrifice on this occasion the god plainly signified to him that he ought neither to seek the command, nor if they chose him, to accept it: and this was the issue of that affair. However, the army assembled, and they all agreed to choose a single person to command them.

<sup>1</sup> It was an old superstition among the Greeks to look on all appearances, and particularly that of an eagle on the right-hand, as an omen of success. When Telemachus takes his leave of Menelaus, Homer makes an eagle appear on his right, with a goose in his talons. This omen Helen, who was present, takes on herself to interpret, and says it signifies that Ulysses shall return and punish the suitors, who, it seems, were represented by the white goose. By-the-way, Homer makes Helen rather than Menelaus interpret this omen, possibly to avoid making the good man indirectly reproach his wife by this interpretation; for Menelaus seems to have forgotten or forgiven all that was past, and they then lived very well together. It may be asked why the Greeks looked on the omens that appeared on their right to be prosperous, and the Romans on those that appeared on their left to be so? This question, though at first sight it may appear frivolous, is of so great consequence to the understanding many passages both in the Greek and Roman authors, that I really think it very well deserves to be discussed. The first thing to be considered is, that the Greeks and Romans did not turn their faces towards the same quarter of the heavens when they took their stand in their augural ceremonies, the former turning theirs to the north, and the latter theirs to the east. But this deserves something more than a bare assertion. Homer, who is always a religious observer of the ceremonies of his country, makes Hector reprimand Polydamas for advising him to attend to the flight of birds, and says he cares not whether they fly to the right, that is, to the east, or to the left, that to the west.



This therefore being determined, they proposed him: when it was manifest they would choose him if any one put the question, he rose up and spoke as follows:

“Friends! as I am a man, I take pleasure in the honour you design me, and return you thanks for it; I also beseech the gods to give me an opportunity of being the occasion of some advantage to you: but I cannot think it will be any either to you or myself to give me the preference, when a Lacedæmonian is present: on the contrary, if you should want their assistance in any thing, you will by this means be the less entitled to it. Neither do I look on this as a thing altogether safe for me to engage in: for I am sensible they never ceased making war on my country, till they made the whole city acknowledge that the Lacedæmonians were the masters of Athens, as well as of the rest of Greece; however, on this acknowledgment they desisted, and immediately raised the siege of that city. If, therefore, I, who am sensible of this, should seem, where I have it in my power, to invalidate their authority, I have reason to fear that I should very soon be taught my duty. As to your opinion, that the command of a single person will leave less room for contest than that of many, be assured that, if you choose another, you shall find I will not oppose him; for I look on it that in war whoever opposes his commander, opposes his own safety: whereas, if you choose me, I shall not be surprised if you find others who will be offended both at you and me.”

After he had said this, much greater numbers than before rose up, and said he ought to take on him the command. And Agasias the Stymphalian alleged it would be ridiculous to suppose what was mentioned to be true; because, at any rate, the Lacedæmonians might as well be angry if, when they met to sup together, they did not choose a Lacedæmonian for their president; “for,” said he, “if that is the case, neither ought we, it seems, to be captains, because we are

Arcadians.” On this the assembly showed by their murmur that they approved of what they said.

Xenophon, seeing it was necessary to enforce what he had alleged, advanced, and went on: “But, friends, that you may know all the circumstances of this affair, I swear by all the gods and goddesses, that after I was acquainted with your resolutions, I sought by sacrifice to know whether it were for your advantage to confer this command on me, and for mine to accept it: and the gods signified to me by the victims in so clear a manner that the most ignorant man could not mistake it, that I ought to decline the command.” On this they chose Chirisophus, who, after he was chosen, came forward and said, “Be assured, friends, I should have given you no opposition if your choice had fallen on another. But,” said he, “you have done a service to Xenophon by not choosing him, since Dexippus has lately accused him to Anaxibius in the strongest manner he was able, though I endeavoured all I could to silence him.” Chirisophus added, that he thought Anaxibius would rather desire Timasion of Dardanus, who had served under Clearchus, for his colleague, than himself, though he was a Lacedæmonian. “But,” said he, “since you have made choice of me, I shall endeavour, on my part, to do you all the service in my power. In the mean time be ready to sail tomorrow, if the weather is favourable. Heraclea is the port we must all endeavour to arrive at. When we are there we will consider of what we have further to do.”

II. The next day they weighed anchor with a fair wind, and sailed two days along the coast; and in their passage saw the Jasonian shore, where the ship Argo is said to have come to land, and the mouths of several rivers; first that of the Thermodon;<sup>1</sup> then

<sup>1</sup> This river, after it has received many others, runs through a plain called Themiscyrs, formerly inhabited by the Amazons, and then falls into the Euxine Sea

of the Halys,<sup>1</sup> and afterward that of the Parthenius:<sup>2</sup> and having sailed by the last, they arrived at Heraclea,<sup>3</sup> a Greek city, and a colony of the Megareans, situated in the country of the Mariandynians. They came to an anchor near to the peninsula of Acherusias, where Hercules is said to have descended to bring up Cerberus, and where they show at this day a chasm, two stadia in depth, as a monument of his descent. The inhabitants of Heraclea sent the Greeks three thousand medimni of barley-meal, and two thousand ceramia of wine, as hospitable presents, with twenty oxen, and one hundred sheep. Here the river Lycus, about two hundred feet broad, runs through the plain.

The soldiers, being assembled, deliberated whether they should proceed the rest of the way till they were out of the Euxine by land or by sea; when Lycon of Achaia, rising up, said, "I wonder, friends, at our generals, for not endeavouring to find money for

<sup>1</sup> This river, Strabo says, took its name from the beds of salt through which it runs. He adds, that its source is in the greater Cappadocia; and, on this occasion, Arrian blames Herodotus for saying it flows from the south, whereas it comes, as he says, from the east. This river formerly parted the Persian and Lydian empires. Tournefort says this country is so full of fossil salt, that it is to be found in the highroads and ploughed lands.

<sup>2</sup> The Parthenius rises, according to Strabo, in Paphlagonia, and derives its name from the cheerful meadows through which it runs.

<sup>3</sup> Heraclea was anciently a city of great consideration, and in alliance with Rome, till Mithridates made himself master of it by corrupting Lamachus, one of their magistrates, which furnished Cotta, who served under Lucullus, with a pretence both of plundering it, and reducing it to ashes, for which he was deservedly censured at his return to Rome. I find Strabo makes Heraclea to have been a colony of the Milesians; but Xenophon seems to deserve most credit, since he is supported by Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, and many other authors of the best note. Heraclea was afterward called by the modern Greeks, to whom it belonged, Penderachi, and by the Turks, in whose possession it now is, Erekli. There are many medals to be seen at this day, formerly struck by this city in honour of the Roman emperors, with a Hercules on the reverse, by which it appears that he was the patron of it; and when Cotta took it there was a statue of Hercules in the market-place, with all his attributes of gold. But it must be observed that this was the Grecian, not the Egyptian Hercules, from whom Diodorus Siculus observes the Greeks borrowed most of the great actions which they ascribed to their Hercules.

us to buy provisions; for the presents we have received will not subsist the army three days; neither is there any place," said he, "from whence we can supply ourselves. My advice, therefore, is, that we demand of the inhabitants of Heraclea no less than three thousand cyzicenes." Another said a month's pay, no less than ten thousand: and "that we ought to choose ambassadors, and send them immediately to the town while we are assembled, to the end we might know what answer they thought proper to return, and thereon consider what measures to take." On this they proposed sending, as ambassadors, first Chirisophus, because they had chosen him for their general; and some named Xenophon. But both these declined it absolutely; for they concurred in opinion that they ought not to constrain a Greek city, in friendship with them, to supply them with any thing against their will. When they found these were unwilling to go, they sent Lycon of Achaia, Callimachus of Parrhasia, and Agasias of Stymphalus. These, going to the town, informed the inhabitants of the resolutions of the army: it was said Lycon even added threats, if they did not comply with all their demands. The inhabitants, hearing this, said they would consider of it, and immediately removed all their effects out of the country, and carried all their provisions into the town: at the same time the gates were shut, and men in arms appeared on the walls.

On this the authors of these disturbances accused the generals of having defeated the design; and the Arcadians and Achaians assembled together; they were chiefly headed by Callimachus the Parrhasian, and Lycon the Achaian. They said it was a shame that one Athenian, who brought no forces to the army, should have the command both of the Peloponnesians and Lacedæmonians. They said they had the labour, and others the profit; which was the less to be suffered, because the preservation of the

army was owing to them; for they said the Arcadians and Achaians had preserved it, and that the rest of the army was nothing; and it was true the Arcadians and Achaians made above half the army: if, therefore, they were wise, they ought to assemble, and having chosen their own generals, to march by themselves, and endeavour to get some booty. This was resolved: and those Arcadians and Achaians who served under Chrisophus, leaving him and Xenophon, joined to the rest, and chose their own generals, to the number of ten. These they voted to execute whatever should be approved of by the majority. Here, therefore, ended the generalship of Chrisophus, the sixth or seventh day after he was chosen.

Xenophon was inclined to march in their company, looking on that as safer than for every one to travel by himself; but Neon, who had been informed by Chrisophus that Cleander, the Lacedæmonian governor of Byzantium, said he would come to the port of Calpe with some galleys, persuaded him to go by himself. He gave him this advice to the end that none should partake of this opportunity, but only they, with their own soldiers, should go on board the galleys; and Chrisophus, partly discouraged at what had happened, and partly through the hatred he from that time conceived against the army, permitted Xenophon to do as he thought fit. The latter had some thoughts also of leaving that part of the army that remained with him, and of sailing away; but while he was offering sacrifice to Hercules the conductor, and consulting that god whether it were better for him to march on with the rest of the soldiers, or to leave them, the god signified by the victims that he should go on with them. By this means the army was divided into three bodies; the first consisted of Arcadians and Achaians, being above four thousand five hundred in number, all heavy-armed men; the second, of fourteen hundred heavy-armed men, and seven hundred targeteers, belonging

to Chirisophus, the last being Thracians, who had served under Clearchus; and the third, of seventeen hundred heavy-armed men, and three hundred targeteers, who followed Xenophon; the horse, which amounted to about forty, were solely commanded by him.

The Arcadians, having furnished themselves with ships from the inhabitants of Heraclea, first set sail, that, by falling on the Bithynians unawares, they might get the greater booty. With this view they landed in the port of Calpe, situated about the middle of Thrace. Chirisophus, leaving Heraclea, travelled through the country; but when he arrived in Thrace he kept near the sea, because he was in an ill state of health; and Xenophon, having provided himself with ships, landed on the confines of Thrace, and of the territory of Heraclea, and from thence marched through the middle of the country.

III. In what manner, therefore, the generalship of Chirisophus was abrogated, and the Greek army divided, has been already related. The actions of each of them were as follows: The Arcadians, landing by night at the port of Calpe, marched to the next villages, at the distance of about fifty stadia from the sea. When it was light, each of their generals led his own division to a village; and where any of the villages seemed larger than the rest, they marched in a body formed of two divisions: at the same time they fixed on a hill where they were all to reassemble; and as their irruption was unexpected, they took many slaves, besides great numbers of cattle.

The Thracians who escaped got together; for, being targeteers, many of them made their escape from the Greeks, who were heavy-armed men. Being now assembled in a body, they first attacked the division commanded by Smicres, one of the Arcadian generals, while he was on his march to the place of rendezvous with a considerable booty. For soon

time the Greeks fought as they marched: but while they were passing a valley the Thracians put them to flight, and killed Smicres with all his men. They also defeated another division commanded by Hegesander, one of the ten generals, eight only escaping, and with them Hegesander himself. The rest of the generals came to the place of rendezvous, some with difficulty, and others without any at all. The Thracians, after this advantage, gave notice to one another, and assembled with great resolution in the night; and as soon as it was day great numbers of horse and targeteers were drawn up round the hill on which the Greeks were encamped; and their numbers continually increasing, they attacked the heavy-armed men with great security; for the Greeks had neither archers, darters, nor horse; while the others, advancing with their light-armed men and horse, launched their darts, and when the Greeks offered to attack them, retreated with ease; and assailing them in different places, gave several wounds without receiving any; so that the Greeks could not stir from the place, and were at last debarred from water by the Thracians. Being reduced to great extremity, terms of accommodation were proposed, and other things were agreed on; but the Thracians refused to give hostages, which the Greeks insisted on. This put a stop to the treaty; and this was the situation of the Arcadians.

In the mean time Chrisophus, marching with safety along the coast, arrived at the port of Calpe. While Xenophon was on his march through the middle of the country, his horse, who were on the scout, met with some ambassadors who were travelling the road. When they were brought to Xenophon, he asked them whether they had any where heard of another Greek army. These men informed him of every thing that had passed; that the Greeks were actually besieged on a hill, and that the whole army of the Thracians had surrounded them on all sides.

On this he ordered the men to be strictly guarded, that he might use them as guides where it was necessary; and having placed his scouts, he assembled the soldiers, and spoke to them as follows:

“Friends! part of the Arcadians are slain, and the rest besieged on a hill. It is my opinion that if these are destroyed, all hopes of our own safety are desperate, the enemy being so numerous, and so much imboldened by their success. The best thing, therefore, we can do is immediately to march to their relief: that if they are still alive, we may have their assistance in battle, rather than by being left alone, be alone exposed to the danger of it. Let us, therefore, for the present, march on till supper-time, and then encamp; and while we are on our march, let Timasion with the horse advance before, keeping us still in sight, and reconnoitre the country to prevent surprise.” At the same time he sent those of the light-armed men who were most prepared for expedition, to the sides and tops of the hills, with orders if they saw any thing to give notice. He ordered them also to set fire to every combustible thing they met with. “For,” said he, “we have no place to fly to: it is a great way back to Heraclea; a great way through the country to Chrysopolis, and the enemy is near at hand. Indeed, it is not far to the port of Calpe, where we conclude Chirisophus is arrived, if he has met with no accident; but when we are there we shall find neither ships to transport us, nor provisions to subsist us even for one day. However, if those who are besieged should perish, it will be more disadvantageous for us to hazard a battle in conjunction with the troops belonging to Chirisophus only, than, if they are preserved, to join all our forces and make our preservation a common concern. But let us go with this resolution, either to die with honour on this occasion, or perform the greatest of all actions in preserving so many Greeks. Possibly God has ordained this with a design of humbling those who



magnified their prudence as superior to ours, and of rendering us, who derive all our hopes from the gods, more renowned than they. Follow, then, your leaders, and be attentive to the orders you receive, that you may obey them."

When he had said this he put himself at their head. The horse, spreading themselves over the country as far as was proper, set fire to every thing where they passed, and the targeteers, marching abreast on the eminences, set fire also to every thing they found combustible, as did the army also to what the others happened to leave; so that the whole country seemed in a blaze, and the army appeared very numerous. When it was time they encamped on a hill, and discovered the enemy's fires, from whom they were distant about forty stadia; on this they made as many fires as they could. But when they had supped, orders were given that all the fires should immediately be put out: and having placed guards, they went to sleep. The next morning by break of day after they had invoked the gods, they put themselves in order of battle, and marched with all the haste they could. Timasion and the horse, with the guides, advancing before the army, found themselves, before they were aware, on the hill where the Greeks had been besieged. Here they saw neither friends nor enemies (of which they gave notice to Xenophon and the army), but only some old men and women with a few sheep and oxen that were left behind. At first they wondered what the matter was; but afterward they understood by the people who were left, that the Thracians went away as soon as the evening came on; and the Greeks the next morning; but whither, they said they could not tell.

Xenophon and his men, hearing this, after they had ate their breakfast, got their baggage ready, and marched on, desiring as soon as possible to join the rest of the Greeks at the port of Calpe. In their march they saw the footmarks of the Arcadians and

Achaïans in the road leading to Calpe; and when they overtook them, they were pleased to see one another, and embraced like brothers. The Arcadians asked Xenophon's men why they had put out their fires? "For," said they, "we thought at first, when we saw no more fires, that you designed to attack the enemy in the night (and they, as we imagined, were apprehensive of this, and for that reason went away, for they retired about that time); but you not coming, and the time wherein we expected you being expired, we concluded, that being informed of our situation, you were terrified and had retired to the seaside. Whereon we resolved not to be far behind you: and this was the reason of our marching hither also."

IV. That day they encamped on the shore near the port. This place, which is called the port of Calpe, is situated in the Asiatic Thrace. This Thrace begins at the mouth of the Euxine Sea, and extends on the right hand as far as Heraclea. To which place from Byzantium<sup>1</sup> it is as far as a trireme galley can row in the longest day. Between these two cities there is no town belonging either to the Greeks or their allies; but all the coast is inhabited by Thracians or Bithynians; and whatever Greeks are thrown on their coast by shipwreck, or by any other accident fall into their hands, they are said to abuse them in the most savage manner. The port of Calpe lies in the midway between Heraclea and Byzantium. A promontory runs out into the sea, of which that part which lies contiguous to it is a craggy rock, in height, where it is lowest, not less than twenty fathom. The neck of land by which this promontory is joined to the continent is about four hundred feet

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon has great reason to say that it is a long day's work for a galley to go from Byzantium to Heraclea, since Arrian in his *Periplus* makes it one thousand six hundred and seventy stadia, eight hundred and seventy of which he reckons from Byzantium to the port of Calpe, which agrees very well with Xenophon's account.

in breadth ; and the space within this neck is ample enough to afford habitation for ten thousand men. The port lies under the rock on the western shore ; and close to the sea flows a spring plentifully supplied with fresh water ; this spring is commanded by the rock. This place affords great plenty of timber, particularly that which is proper for building ships, in great quantities, and in great perfection, close to the sea. The mountain that lies next the port reaches about twenty stadia into the midland. The soil is a mould free from stones ; but that part of it which lies next the sea, and extends above twenty stadia, is covered with great numbers of stately trees of every kind. The rest of the country is pleasant and spacious, abounding with villages well inhabited ; for it produces barley, wheat, and all sorts of legumens, panic, sesame, a sufficient quantity of figs, vines in abundance, yielding a sweet wine, and every thing else but olive-trees. This is the nature of the country.

The soldiers encamped along the shore : had they entered into any of the villages they would not have quartered there, because they suspected they were drawn thither by the artifice of some people who were desirous to build a city there : for the greater part of them had not engaged in this service through want, but induced by the reputation of Cyrus, some even bringing soldiers with them who had spent their fortunes, some having left their fathers and mothers, and others their children, with a design to return when they had acquired enough to enrich them ; for they heard that the other Greeks who before served under Cyrus had made their fortunes. This being their situation, they were desirous to return in safety to Greece.

The morning after the junction of their forces Xenophon offered sacrifice concerning their going out of the camp (for there was a necessity to lead them out in order to get provisions) : he also pro-

posed to bury the dead. The victims being favourable, the Arcadians also followed him, and they buried the greater part of the dead where each of them lay, for their bodies having lain five days, there was no possibility of bringing them away; some of them they removed out of the roads, and laying them in a heap, buried them with all the decency that their present circumstances would admit of. As for those whose bodies could not be found, they erected a large cenotaph,<sup>1</sup> with a great funeral pile, which they crowned with garlands. Having performed these things they returned to their camp, and after they had supped went to rest. The next day there was a general meeting of the soldiers (they were chiefly assembled by Agasias of Stymphalus, one of the captains, and Hieronymus of Elis, a captain also, and by the oldest Arcadian officers), in which they came to this resolution, that for the future, whoever proposed dividing the army should be punished with death; that the army should march in the same disposition it was in before, and that the same generals should command. Chrisophus having lost his life by a medicine he took in a fever, Neon the Asinian succeeded him.

After this Xenophon, rising up, said, "Friends! it seems we are under a necessity both of travelling by land, for we have no ships, and of marching away immediately, for if we stay we shall want provisions. We, therefore, shall offer sacrifice: in the mean time, if on any other occasion you were prepared to fight, prepare yourselves for it now, for the enemy have resumed their courage." After this the generals offered sacrifice in the presence of Arexion of

<sup>1</sup> In the same manner we find in Thucydides that the Athenians, in the funeral of the first of their countrymen who were killed in the Peloponnesian war, besides a coffin for every tribe, carried also an empty one in honour to the memory of those whose bodies could not be found. Virgil has translated the Greek word by *tumulus inanis* in the third book, where he says Andromache had raised an empty monument to the manes of Hector.

Arcadia, the priest; for Silanus of Ambracia had hired a ship, and made his escape from Heraclea. But the victims they sacrificed concerning their departure were not favourable; so they staid there that day; and some had the confidence to report that Xenophon, being desirous to build a city there, had prevailed on the priest to declare that the victims were not favourable to their departure. On this Xenophon ordered a herald to publish that any one who was willing might be present at the sacrifice the next day, and that if there was any priest among them, he should also attend, and assist in inspecting the victims: he offered sacrifice accordingly in the presence of great numbers; and though victims were three times sacrificed concerning their departure, still they were not favourable. This gave the soldiers great concern; for the provisions they had brought with them were all consumed, and there was no market near.

Hereon they reassembled, and Xenophon said, "Friends! the victims, you see, are not yet favourable to our departure; at the same time I see you are in want of provisions; it is necessary, therefore, in my opinion, to offer sacrifice concerning this." On which one of the men, rising up, said, "It is with reason the victims do not favour our departure, for a ship coming in yesterday by accident, I was informed that Cleander, the Lacedæmonian governor of Byzantium, designed to come thither from thence with transports and galleys." On this they all concluded to stay for him. However, they could not avoid going out to get provisions, concerning which he again offered sacrifice three times, and still the victims were not favourable: the soldiers now came to Xenophon's tent, complaining they had no provisions; but he told them he would not lead them out while the victims forbade it.

The next day he sacrificed again, and it being a general concern, almost all the army crowded round

the sacrifice: but the victims fell short. Still the generals did not think fit to lead out the army; however, they called them together, and Xenophon said, "Possibly the enemy may be assembled in a body, and then we shall be under a necessity of fighting: if, therefore, we leave our baggage in the place of strength, and march out prepared to fight, it is possible the victims may be more favourable." The soldiers, hearing this, cried out it was to no purpose to lead them to the place he mentioned, but that they ought immediately to offer sacrifice. They had no victims left; so they bought some oxen out of a cart, and sacrificed them; and Xenophon begged of Cleanor the Arcadian to show an earnestness if this sacrifice promised any thing. Notwithstanding this the victims were not favourable.

Here Neon, who had succeeded Chirisophus, seeing the men oppressed with want, was desirous to gratify them, and having found out a man belonging to Heraclea, who said he was acquainted with some villages in the neighbourhood where they might get provisions, ordered proclamation to be made that whoever was willing might go out to supply themselves, there being a guide ready to conduct them. On this two thousand men went out of the camp with javelins, leathern bags, sacks, and other vessels. While they were in the villages dispersed in plunder, some horse belonging to Pharnabazus first fell on them: these were come to the assistance of the Bithynians, designing, jointly with them, to hinder, if possible, the Greeks from penetrating into Phrygia. This body of horse killed no less than five hundred of the Greeks: the rest fled to a mountain.

The news of this defeat was brought to the camp by one of those who escaped. Xenophon, since the victims were not favourable that day, taking an ox out of one of the carts, for there were no other victims, sacrificed it, and then went out to their relief with all the men who were not above forty years of

age; and having brought off the rest, they returned to the camp. It was now near sunset, and the Greeks ate their supper in great consternation; when, on a sudden, some Bithynians, coming up through the thickets, surprised the advanced guard, and killing some of them, pursued the rest to the camp; and the alarm being given, all the Greeks ran to their arms. But it was not thought advisable to pursue the enemy, or leave their camp in the night; for the country was full of thickets; so they lay that night under arms, taking care effectually to reinforce their out-guards.

V. In this manner they passed the night. The next day as soon as it was light the generals led them to the place of strength, and the army followed with their arms and baggage, and before noon they had dug a trench quite across the neck of land that leads to the promontory, and fortified the whole length of it with palisades, leaving three gates. In the mean time a ship arrived from Heraclea laden with barley meal, cattle, and wine. Xenophon, rising early, offered sacrifice concerning an expedition against the enemy, and the first victim was favourable. When the sacrifice was near an end Arexion of Parrhasia, the priest, saw an eagle on the favourable side, and called out to Xenophon to lead on. After the men had passed the trench they stood to their arms, and the generals ordered proclamation to be made that the soldiers, as soon as they had dined, should march with their arms, leaving those who had care of the baggage and the slaves behind. All the rest went out except Neon; for it was thought most advisable to leave him to command those who remained in the camp; but when the captains and soldiers were about to leave them they were ashamed to stay behind, while the rest marched out; so they left only those who were above five-and-forty years of age. These, therefore, staid in the camp, and the rest marched forward. Before they had gone fifteen

stadia they came to the dead bodies, and extending one of their wings on a single line where the first of them lay, they buried all those that fell within the line. After they had buried these, as they marched along they formed a line of the other wing where the first of the bodies lay unburied, and in the same manner buried those that fell in their way: and when they came to the road that led from the villages where the dead bodies lay in heaps, they brought them all together and buried them.

It being now past noon, they marched clear of the villages, and while the men were employed in taking whatever provisions they met with within reach of the line, on a sudden they discovered the enemy marching over some hills opposite to them. Their army was disposed in a line, and very numerous both in horse and foot; for Spithridates and Rathines were there with the forces they had received from Pharnabazus. As soon as the enemy saw the Greeks they halted at the distance of about fifteen stadia. On this Arexion the Greek priest immediately offered sacrifice, and the very first victim was favourable. Then Xenophon said to the generals, "Friends! it is my opinion that we ought to place some bodies of reserve behind the line of battle to sustain it, if necessary, and that the enemy when disordered may be received by these bodies of reserve that will be fresh and in order." All this met with general approbation. "Do you, therefore," continued he, "advance against the enemy, that now we have seen them and been seen by them, we may not stand still; and I will form the bodies of reserve in the rear in the manner you approve of, and follow you."

On this the generals advanced in silence; and Xenophon, having separated from the main body the three hindmost ranks, consisting of about two hundred men each, placed one commanded by Samolas of Achaia behind the right wing; another, of which Pyrias of Arcadia had the command, behind the



centre; and the third, commanded by Phrasiabos an Athenian, behind the left wing: these had orders to follow the line of battle at the distance of about one hundred feet. As they marched on, those in the front coming to a valley that was large and difficult to pass, halted, not knowing whether it was passable or not, and an order was given for all the generals and captains to come up to the front. Xenophon wondered what should stop their march; but as soon as he heard the order he rode up in all haste. As soon as the officers were got together, Sophænetus, the oldest of the generals, said it was not advisable to pass a valley of such difficulty; but Xenophon, answering with some earnestness, said, "You know, friends, that I never willingly sought dangers for you; because I am sensible you want safety more than glory; but this is our present situation. It is not possible for us to go hence without fighting; for if we do not engage the enemy, as soon as we offer to depart they will pursue us, and fall on us in our retreat. Consider, therefore, with yourselves, whether it is better for us to attack them with our arms to cover us, or to see them pursuing us when we are defenceless. You know also that there is no honour to be got by flying from an enemy, while even cowards gain courage by pursuing; for which reason I had rather pursue with half the number of forces than retreat with twice as many. Besides, I am confident that you yourselves do not expect the enemy will stand if we attack them: but we are all sensible that if we retire they will have courage enough to follow us. However, to be on the other side, with a difficult valley in our rear when we engage, is not that an advantage worth contending for? May the enemy find every passage open to their flight! whereas the situation of the place ought to instruct us that we can have no hope of safety but in victory. I wonder any one should think this valley more dreadful than so many other places we have

passed through. Shall we not find this very place where we now are difficult to march over, if we do not overcome the horse? Will not the mountains we have traversed be difficult to repass with such numbers of targeteers at our heels? But admit even that we arrive at the seacoast in safety, how large a valley is the Euxine Sea! where we shall neither find ships to transport us, nor, if we stay there, provisions to subsist us. And if we make haste thither, we must haste abroad again to get provisions. We had better, therefore, fight now we have eaten something, than to-morrow when we are fasting. Friends! the sacrifices are favourable, the omens happy, and the victims assure us of success. Let us go on. Since the enemy have seen us all, they ought not to eat their supper with satisfaction, or encamp where they please."

On this the captains bid him lead on, and no one contradicted it: he therefore put himself at their head, and ordered every man to pass the valley in his rank, for he thought it would be more expeditious for the army to pass over in a body, than if they filed off over the bridge that lay across the valley. After they had passed it, Xenophon, coming up to the foremost ranks, said, "Remember, friends, how many battles, with the assistance of the gods, you have gained, and what those are to expect who turn their backs on the enemy. Consider also that we are at the gates of Greece. Follow Hercules your conductor, and exhort one another by name. There is a pleasure in reflecting, that whoever on this occasion says or does any thing brave and glorious will be remembered by those whose applause he is ambitious of."

This he said as he rode along the ranks; then put himself at the head of the line of battle, and having placed the targeteers on the wings, he marched against the enemy. He had also ordered the heavy-armed men to carry their pikes on their right shoulders

till the trumpet sounded; then to present them, and move slowly on: and that none should run when they pursued. On this the word was given, "Jupiter the Preserver, and Hercules the Conductor!" The enemy, encouraged by the advantage of their post, stood their ground; and when our men drew near, the Greek targeteers shouted, and ran on before they were ordered. The enemy's horse with the body of Bithynians, advanced against them, and both together put the targeteers to flight: but when the line of battle, consisting of the heavy-armed men, marched briskly up to meet them, and at the same time the trumpet sounded, and the men sang the pæan, then shouted and presented their pikes, they no longer stood their ground, but fled. Timasion pursued them with the horse; and his men, being but few in number, killed as many of them as they could. The enemy's left wing, which was opposite to the Greek horse, was presently dispersed; but the right, not being closely pursued, rallied on a hill. As soon as the Greeks saw them make a stand, they thought the easiest and safest thing they could do was to charge them immediately. Accordingly they sang the pæan, and advanced directly: but the enemy did not stand: the targeteers pursued them till their right wing was also dispersed. However, few of them were killed, for the enemy's horse, being very numerous, kept the Greeks in awe. When our men saw the body of horse belonging to Pharnabazus still unbroken, and the Bithynian horse flocking to them, and observing from a hill what was doing, though they were spent with labour, yet they resolved to charge them also as well as they could, that they might give them no time to recover their spirits and breath. So they formed themselves and marched against them. On this the enemy's horse fled down the hill with as much precipitation as if they had been pursued by horse: for there was a valley to receive them, which the Greeks knew nothing of, because,

as it was late, they had given over the pursuit before they came to it. Then returning to the place where the first action happened, they erected a trophy, and came back to the sea about sunset; for they had near sixty stadia to their camp.

VI. After this the enemy employed themselves in their own concerns, removing their families and effects to the greatest distance they could. In the mean time the Greeks waited for the arrival of Cleander with the galleys and transports; and going out every day with their sumpter horses and slaves, they furnished themselves in all security with wheat, barley, wine, legumens, panic, and figs; for the country produced every thing but oil. While the army lay in their camp to refresh themselves, the men had liberty to go out for plunder; and on those occasions the booty was their own: but when the whole army went out, if any one straggled from the rest and got any thing, they determined it should belong to the public. The camp now abounded in all things, for provisions came from every side out of the Greek cities; and people who sailed along the coast being informed that a city was going to be built with a haven, willingly put in there: and those of the enemy who lived in the neighbourhood sent to Xenophon, hearing he had the conduct of the intended settlement, to know what they should do to deserve his friendship; and he showed them to the soldiers. In the mean time Cleander arrived with two galleys, but no transports. It happened that when he came the army was gone out to get provisions, and a party of stragglers, going up the mountain in search of plunder, took a great number of sheep; but being afraid they would be taken from them, they informed Dexippus of it (the same who ran away with the fifty-oar galley from Trebisonde), and desired him to secure the sheep, agreeing that he should retain some of them for his pains, and restore the rest.

Immediately Dexippus drove away the soldiers

who stood round them, and told them the sheep belonged to the public; then went to Cleander and informed him that they endeavoured to take them away by force. Cleander ordered him to bring the man who attempted it before him. On that Dexippus seized one of the men, and was carrying him away, when Agasias meeting him rescued the man, for he belonged to his company; and the rest of the soldiers who were present threw stones at Dexippus, calling him traitor. This put not only him, but many of the men also who belonged to the galleys, in fear, and made them fly to the sea; and Cleander himself was among those who fled. Hereon Xenophon and the rest of the generals endeavoured to suppress the tumult, and told Cleander that there was no danger, and that all this was occasioned by the standing order of the army. But Cleander, being inflamed by Dexippus, and himself nettled for having discovered so much fear, said he would sail away, and cause them to be proclaimed enemies, and that as such none of the Greek cities should receive them; for the Lacedæmonians were at that time the masters of all Greece.

The Greeks looked on this as an affair of bad consequence, and begged of him not to do it; but he said it could not be otherwise, unless they delivered up the man who began throwing stones, together with the person who rescued him. This was Agasias, the constant friend of Xenophon; for which reason Dexippus had accused him. In this perplexity the commanders called the army together, and some of them treated Cleander as a man of no importance, but Xenophon thought the affairs of no small consequence, and rising up, said:

“Friends! I look on it as a matter of great moment, if Cleander goes away, as he threatens, in this disposition: for we are now in the neighbourhood of the Greek cities; and as the Lacedæmonians preside over Greece, every single Lacedæmonian can effect

whatever he pleases in these cities. If, therefore, this man first shuts us out of Byzantium himself, then gives notice to the rest of the Lacedæmonian governors not to receive us into their cities, as men refusing obedience to the Lacedæmonians, and absolutely ungovernable; this character of us will at last reach the ears of Anaxibius the admiral; and then it will be difficult for us either to stay where we are or to sail away; for at this time the Lacedæmonians command both at sea and land. We ought not, therefore, for the sake of one or two men to exclude ourselves from Greece, but to obey them in every thing; for the cities to which we belong obey them. As to my own particular (for I hear Dexippus tells Cleander that Agasias had never done this if I had not given him orders), for my part, I say, I am ready to clear both you and Agasias of this accusation, if he will say that I was the author of any of these things, and to condemn myself, if I began throwing stones or any other violence, to the last of punishments, and will submit to it. My advice also is, that if Cleander should accuse any other person, he ought to surrender himself to be tried; by this means you will be free from censure. As things now stand, it will be hard if we, who expect to meet with applause and honour in Greece, should, instead of that, not even be in the same condition with the rest of our countrymen, but be excluded from the Greek cities."

After this Agasias rose up, and said, "Friends! I call the gods and goddesses to witness, that neither Xenophon, nor any other person among you, ordered me to rescue the man; but seeing Dexippus, who you know has betrayed you, carrying away a brave man belonging to my company, I thought it was not to be borne, and own I rescued him. Think not of delivering me up, for I will surrender myself to Cleander, as Xenophon advises, to be tried by him, and used as he thinks fit. Let this be no cause of war between you and the Lacedæmonians; but let

every man return with safety to whatever part of Greece he pleases. I only desire you will choose some of your own number, and send them with me to Cleander, that if I omit any thing, they may both speak and act in my behalf." On this the army gave him leave to choose such persons as he thought proper to accompany him; and he chose the generals. Agasias and the generals accordingly went to Cleander, together with the man who had been rescued by Agasias; and the generals spoke to Cleander in the following manner:

"The army has sent us to you, O Cleander! and desires, if you accuse them all, that you will yourself pass sentence on them all, and treat them as you think fit: if one, or two, or more of them, they have thought proper they should surrender themselves to you, and submit to your judgment. If, therefore, you accuse any of us, here we are before you: if any other, let us know it; for no man shall refuse to submit to your judgment who will submit to our command." After this Agasias, advancing, said, "I am the person, O Cleander! that rescued the man whom Dexippus was carrying away, and that gave orders to our men to strike Dexippus; for I knew the soldier to be a good man, and that Dexippus, who had been chosen by the army to command the galley we begged of the inhabitants of Trebisond, in order to get ships together to transport us, had run away with the galley, and betrayed the soldiers to whom he owed his preservation. Thus he is the cause, not only of our having deprived the inhabitants of Trebisond of their galley, but of our being looked on as bad men, and, as far as it lay in his power, of our ruin; for he had heard as well as we that if we went by land it was impossible for us to pass the rivers that lay in our way, and return to Greece. Such is the character of the person from whom I rescued the man. If either you, or any one belonging to you, had been carrying him away, and not one of

our own deserters, be assured that I should have attempted no such thing. Know, then, that if you put me to death, you will destroy a brave man for the sake of a coward and a villain."

Cleander, hearing this, said he could not approve of the conduct of Dexippus, if he had been guilty of these things. "But," added he, "in my opinion, though Dexippus were the worst of men, no violence should be offered to him, but that he ought to be tried, in the manner you yourselves propose, and punished, if guilty. As for you, leave Agasias with me, and depart: and when I give you notice, be present at his trial. I neither accuse the army, nor any other person, since Agasias himself owns he rescued the man." On this the soldier who had been rescued said, "Though you seem to think, O Cleander! that I was apprehended as an offender, yet know, that I neither struck any one, nor threw stones at any; I only said the sheep belonged to the public: for the soldiers had made an order, that when the whole army went out, whatever booty was taken by any particular person should belong to the public. This was all I said; and for this Dexippus seized me with a design to carry me away, that every man's mouth being stopped, he might have his share of the booty, and secure the rest for his accomplices, contrary to the standing order of the army." To this Cleander answered, "Since you are that kind of man, stay here, that we may consider what to do with you also."

After this Cleander and his company went to dinner; and Xenophon, assembling the army, advised them to send some persons to Cleander to intercede for the men. Hereon they resolved to send the generals and captains, together with Dracontius the Spartan, and other proper persons, to entreat Cleander by all means to release them. As soon as Xenophon came to him, he said, "The men you demanded, O Cleander! are in your hands, and the



army makes you not only master of their fate, but of its own. However, they now conjure you to give up these two men to them, and not to put them to death; because on all occasions both of them have taken great pains to do service to the army. If they can prevail on you in this, they promise you, in return, if you think fit to be their general, and the gods are propitious, to let you see both how observant they are, and how incapable, while they obey their commander, and Heaven assists them, of fearing an enemy. They also beg of you, that when you are with them, and have taken on you the command, you will make trial of Dexippus, and of themselves and others, and then reward each according to his merit." Cleander, hearing this, said, "By Castor and Pollux, I will return you an answer immediately. I not only give you up the men, but will come to you myself; and if the gods are in any degree favourable, I will conduct you into Greece. Your discourse is very different from the reports I have heard of some of you, as if you were endeavouring to render the army disaffected to the Lacedæmonians."

After this those who were sent by the army applauded him, and returned with the two men. Cleander offered sacrifice concerning the journey, and conversed in a friendly manner with Xenophon, and they two contracted an intercourse of hospitality; and when he saw the obedience and exact discipline of the army, he was still more desirous of commanding them: but after he had offered sacrifice for three days, and the victims were not favourable, he called the generals together, and said, "The victims will not allow me to conduct the army; but let not that discourage you, for it looks as if this was reserved for you. Go on, therefore, and when you are arrived at Byzantium we will receive you in the best manner we are able."

On this the soldiers thought proper to make him a present of the sheep that belonged to the public.

these he accepted, and gave them to the army again, and then sailed away. The soldiers, having sold the corn they had brought with them, and the rest of the booty they had taken, marched on through Bithynia; and meeting nothing in the direct road to carry with them into the territories of their friends, they resolved to march back one day and a night: and having done so, they took great numbers both of slaves and cattle; and after six days' march, arrived at Chrysopolis,<sup>1</sup> a town of Chalcedonia, and there they staid seven days to sell their booty.

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## BOOK VII.

CHAP. I. THE preceding discourse contains a relation of the actions the Greeks performed during their expedition with Cyrus to the battle; of those they achieved after his death during their retreat, till they came to the Euxine Sea; and of those they performed after their departure thence, both by

<sup>1</sup> Chrysopolis was no more than a village in Strabo's time, that is, in the time of Augustus: it is now called Scutari, and though separated from Constantinople by the Bosphorus, is looked on by the Turks as one of the suburbs of their capital. Polybius informs us that the Athenians, being in possession of Chrysopolis, endeavoured, by the advice of Alcibiades, to oblige those who sailed through the Bosphorus into the Euxine Sea to pay toll. This was, many ages after, put in practice with greater effect by Mahomet the Second, by means of a castle which he built on a cape, on the side of Europe, where the temple of Mercury formerly stood: opposite to this castle Mourat the Second had before built a castle on the Asiatic side, called by the modern Greeks Neocastron. This castle Mahomet the Second, on his succeeding Mourat, fortified considerably. The strait between those two castles, Polybius says, is the narrowest of the whole Bosphorus, it being but about five stadia, near half an English mile, over. The same author adds, that this was the pass over which Darius Hystaspes caused Mandrocles of Samos, as he is called by Herodotus, an eminent architect, to lay a bridge, over which he passed his army, consisting of seven hundred thousand men, to make war on the Scythians.

sea and land, till they arrived at Chrysopolis, a city of Asia, situated without the mouth of that sea.

After this, Pharnabazus, fearing lest the Greeks should make an irruption into the country under his command, sent to Anaxibius the admiral, who happened to be then at Byzantium, to desire he would transport the army out of Asia, with assurance that in return he would do every thing that could reasonably be expected. Hereon Anaxibius sent for the generals and captains to Byzantium, and promised, if the army came over, they should have pay. The rest of the officers told him they would consider of it, and let him know their resolution; but Xenophon said he proposed to leave the army, and wanted to sail away. However, Anaxibius desired he would come over with the army before he left it, which the other consented to.

In the mean time Seuthes the Thracian sent Medosades to Xenophon, to desire he would let him have his assistance in prevailing on the army to pass into Europe, assuring him he should have no reason to repent it. Xenophon said, "The army will certainly pass over: let him not, therefore, give any thing either to me or to any other person on that account. As soon as it is transported I shall depart; let him, therefore, apply to those who stay, and may be of service to him, in such a manner as he thinks fit."

After this the whole army passed over to Byzantium: but Anaxibius gave them no pay; however, he published an order that the soldiers should go out of the town with their arms and baggage, as if he designed to dismiss them, and to take an account of their numbers at the same time. The soldiers were uneasy at this, because they had no money to furnish themselves with provisions for their march, and packed up their baggage with reluctance.

Xenophon, having before contracted an intercourse of hospitality with Cleander the Lacedæmonian governor, went to take his leave of him, designing

to set sail immediately. But he said to him, “ desire you will not do it; if you do, you will be blamed; for you are already accused by some people as the cause of the army’s creeping so slowly out of the town.” Xenophon answered, “ I am not the cause of this; but the soldiers, being in want of money to buy provisions, are for that reason of themselves unwilling to leave the town.” “ However,” said Cleander, “ I advise you to go out with them, as if designing to proceed; and when the army is out of the town to depart.” “ Let us go, then,” said Xenophon, “ to Anaxibius, and settle it in this manner:” and coming to him, they informed him of what they had determined. He advised them to pursue it, and that the army should immediately go out with their baggage: at the same time he desired they would also give notice, that whoever absented himself from the review and muster should incur their censure. On this the generals first, and after them the rest of the army, went out of the town. They were now all out except a few, and Eteonicus stood already at the gates to shut and bolt them as soon as they were all gone.

Anaxibius, therefore, calling together the generals and captains, said, “ You may supply yourselves with provisions out of the Thracian villages, where there is great plenty of barley and wheat, and of all things necessary: as soon as you have furnished yourselves, go on to the Chersonesus,<sup>1</sup> where Cy-

<sup>1</sup> The Thracian Chersonesus was separated from the rest of Thrace by a wall reaching from the Propontis to the bay called Sinus Melas, in the Ægean Sea. This wall was built by Dercyllidas, the Lacedæmonian general, the second year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, that is, the year after Xenophon brought back the remains of the soldiers who had served under Cyrus. This wall was begun in the spring, and ended before the autumn of the same year: it reached from sea to sea, quite across the isthmus, and was in length thirty-seven stadia; that is, about three English miles and three-quarters: this Chersonesus contained in it eleven towns, many seaports, and a large extent of arable land, woods, and rich pastures. It afterward belonged to Agrippa, son-in-law to Julius Cæsar, and one of the greatest men of that or of any other age. At the death it came to Augustus. It is a great pity that part of the book of Strabo is lost, where he treats of this Chersonesus.

niscus will give you pay." Some of the soldiers overheard this, or possibly one of the captains informed the army of it. In the mean time the generals inquired concerning Seuthes, whether he were a friend or an enemy; and whether they were to march over the holy mountain, or round through the middle of Thrace.

While they were engaged in this discourse the soldiers snatched up their arms and ran hastily to the gates, with a design to force their way back into the town. But Eteonicus, with those about him, when they saw the heavy-armed men running to the gates, immediately shut and bolted them. On this the soldiers knocked at the gates, and complained they were treated with great injustice in being shut out of the town, as a prey to the enemy; threatening to cut the gates asunder if they would not open them. Some ran to the sea, and got over the mole into the town; and others who happened to be within, observing what was doing at the gates, cleft the bars with hatchets, and set them open: on this they all rushed in.

Xenophon, seeing what passed, and being afraid the army should fall to plundering, and by that means an irreparable mischief should be done, not only to the town but to himself and the soldiers, ran in all haste, and got within the gates together with the crowd. As soon as the inhabitants saw the army break in they fled out of the market, some hurrying to the ships, others to their houses, and those who were within doors ran out: some hauled down the galleys into the sea, in hopes of saving themselves in them: and all thought themselves undone, the town being taken. On this Eteonicus fled to the citadel; and Anaxibius, running down to the sea, sailed round to the same place in a fishing-boat, and immediately sent for the garrison from Chalcedon; for he did not think that in the citadel sufficient for its defence.

As soon as the soldiers saw Xenophon they crowded about him, and said, "You have now an opportunity, O Xenophon! of making yourself a man. You are master of a town, of galleys, of money, and of so many people; you have now the power, if you think fit, of making us rich, and we that of making you considerable." "You say well," said Xenophon, "and I will follow your advice: if, therefore, this is your desire, place yourselves in your ranks immediately, and handle your arms." He gave these orders with a design to quiet them, and for the same reason directed the rest of the officers to give orders that their men also should stand to their arms. The soldiers drew up of their own accord, the heavy-armed men presently forming themselves into a body of fifty deep, and the targeteers repairing to each of the wings. The place where they stood was called the Thracian square, and being free from houses and even, was very proper for a parade. When they all stood armed in their ranks, and their minds were appeased, Xenophon addressed himself to the assembly in the following manner:

"Friends! I am not at all surprised at your resentment, and that you look on yourselves as very ill used, by being imposed on. But if we indulge our anger, and not only take revenge of the Lacedæmonians who are present, for this imposition, but plunder the city, that is in no degree guilty, consider what will be the consequence; we shall from that moment be the declared enemies both of the Lacedæmonians and of their allies; and of what nature this war will be may be easily guessed by those who have seen and call to mind what has happened of late years: for when we Athenians entered on the war with the Lacedæmonians and their allies, we had a fleet of no less than four hundred galleys, some of which were at sea, and others in the docks: we had a great sum of money in the treasury, and an annual revenue, payable both by the citizens and foreign

of no less than one thousand talents: we had the command of all the islands: we were possessed of many cities both in Asia and Europe, and even of Byzantium, where we now are: yet, with all these advantages, we were overcome by them, as you all know. What then have we now to expect, when the Lacedæmonians and the Achæans are united, and the Athenians, with those who were then in alliance with them, are all become an accession to their power? when Tissaphernes, and all the rest of the Barbarians who inhabit the seacoast, are our enemies, and the King of Persia himself the most inveterate of all, against whom we have made war with a design to deprive him of his kingdom, and if possible of his life too? When all these join their forces, is there any one so void of sense, as to flatter himself that we shall prove superior to them? For Heaven's sake, friends! let us not go mad, and perish with dishonour, by becoming the proclaimed enemies of our fathers, our friends, and our relations! for these all live in the cities that will make war on us: and not without reason, if, having declined to possess ourselves of any town belonging to the Barbarian whom we vanquished, we should plunder the first Greek city we arrive at. For my part, I wish, before I see you guilty of such things, I may be buried ten thousand fathoms deep: and would advise you, as you are Greeks, to endeavour, by your obedience to the masters of Greece, to obtain justice. But if your endeavours should prove ineffectual, we ought not, however, though wronged, to deprive ourselves of all possibility of returning home. My opinion therefore now is, that we should send some persons to Anaxibius, to acquaint him that we did not come into the town with a design to commit violence, but, if possible, to obtain favour; and if we fail in this, to let him see that we are ready to leave it again; not because we are imposed on, but because we are willing to obey."

This was resolved on: so they sent Hieronymus Elis, Eurylochus of Arcadia, and Philesius of Thessaly to him with these instructions. While the soldiers were yet assembled, Cyratades a Theban came to them. This man was not banished from Greece, but wandered about from an ambition to command armies, offering himself to any city or nation that had occasion for a general. He told them he was ready to conduct them to that part of Thrace called the Delta, where they should make their forges, and that till they arrived there he would supply them with meat and drink in plenty. While he was saying this, the soldiers received an answer from Anaxibius, who assured them they should have no cause to repent of obeying him: that he would give account of this to the magistrates of Sparta, and would himself consider in what he could be of most service to them. On this they accepted Cyratades for their general; and went out of the town. And Cyratades appointed to come the next day to the army, an ox, five victims, and a priest, and also meat and drink for the men. As soon as they were out of the town Anaxibius caused the gates to be shut, and public notice to be given, that if any of the soldiers were found within the walls they should be sold for slaves. The next day Cyratades came to the army with the victims and the priest: he was followed by twenty men, loaded with barley-meal, and as many with wine; three more brought as many olives, another as much garlic, and a third as many onions as he could carry; and having ordered these things to be set down, as if he intended to divide them among the troops, he offered sacrifice.

Here Xenophon sent for Cleander, and desired him to procure liberty for him to go into the town and embark at Byzantium. When Cleander came, he said, "It is with great difficulty that I have prevailed; for Anaxibius says it is not proper that the soldiers should be near the town, and Xenophon



within, the inhabitants being engaged in factions and animosities: however," he said, "you may come in, if you propose to sail with him." On which Xenophon took leave of the soldiers, and went into the town with Cleander.

The victims not being favourable to Cyratades, the first day he distributed nothing to the soldiers. The next, both the victims and Cyratades, with a garland on his head, preparing to offer sacrifice, stood before the altar, when Timasion the Dardanian, Neon the Asinian, and Cleanor the Orchomenian came to Cyratades, and forbade him to offer sacrifice, adding, that unless he gave provisions to the army he should not command it. On this he ordered them to be distributed; but the provisions falling short of one day's subsistence for every man, he renounced the generalship, and, taking the victims, departed.

II. Hereon Neon the Asinian, Phryniscus of Achaia, and Timasion of Dardanus, who staid with the army, led them into some villages of the Thracians, that lay near Byzantium, where they encamped. Here the generals disagreed, Cleanor and Phryniscus being desirous to carry the army to Seuthes (for he gained them, by making a present of a horse to one, and of a woman to the other); and Neon, to the Chersonesus; on this presumption, that, if they came into the dominions of the Lacedæmonians, he should have the sole command. Timasion wanted to go back into Asia, expecting by this means to return home. The soldiers were for this: but much time being spent in this contest, many of the soldiers sold their arms in the country, and sailed away as they could; others gave them to the country people, and settled in the cities, mingling with the inhabitants. Anaxibius was pleased to hear the army was disbanding, for he concluded this would be most acceptable to Pharnabazus.

While Anaxibius was on his voyage from Byzantium Aristarchus met him at Cyzicus. He was sent

to succeed Cleander as governor of Byzantium. He informed Anaxibius that Polus was on the point of coming into the Hellespont, to succeed him in the command of the fleet; and Anaxibius ordered Aristarchus to sell all the soldiers of Cyrus whom he found in Byzantium. As for Cleander, he had sold none of them, but out of compassion took care of those who were sick, and obliged the inhabitants to receive them into their houses; but Aristarchus, as soon as he arrived, sold no less than four hundred of them. When Anaxibius came to Parium<sup>1</sup> he sent to Pharnabazus, in pursuance of their agreement; but he finding that Aristarchus was going to Byzantium, in quality of governor, and that Anaxibius was no longer admiral, neglected him, and made the same terms with Aristarchus, concerning the army of Cyrus, that he had before made with Anaxibius.

On this Anaxibius, calling Xenophon to him, desired, by all means, that he would set sail for the army immediately, and both keep them in a body, and draw together as many as he could of those who were dispersed, then leading them to Perinthus,<sup>2</sup> transport them forthwith into Asia. He ordered at the same time a thirty-oar galley to attend him, and not only gave him a letter, but sent an express with him, to let the Perinthians know that they were immediately to furnish Xenophon with horses to carry him to the army. Xenophon crossed the Propontis, and arrived at the army. He was received by the soldiers with great joy, who followed him cheerfully, in hopes of passing over from Thrace into Asia.

Seuthes, hearing that Xenophon was returned,

<sup>1</sup> Parium was a town on the Propontis, situated between Cyzicus and the Hellespont. It was built, according to Strabo, by the inhabitants of the island of Paros; the same author adds, there was an altar, the sides of which were six hundred feet in length.

<sup>2</sup> Perinthus was a city of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of Byzantium; it was otherwise called Heraclea. Harduin says it is now called Pantiro.

sent Medosades to him by sea, to desire he would bring the army to him, promising whatever he thought most effectual to persuade him. Xenophon answered, "that it was not possible for any thing of this kind to be done:" whereon the other went away. When the Greeks came to Perinthus Neon drew off his forces, and encamped apart with about eight hundred men; the rest remained together under the walls of the town.

After this Xenophon was employed in getting ships to transport the troops into Asia; when Aristarchus the governor, arriving from Byzantium with two galleys, at the desire of Pharnabazus, forbade the masters of the ships to transport them; and going to the army, commanded the soldiers not to go over into Asia. Xenophon told him that "Anaxibius had ordered it: and," said he, "he sent me hither for that purpose." On which Aristarchus replied, "Anaxibius is not admiral, and I am governor here; and if I take any of you attempting to go over, I shall throw them into the sea." Having said this he went into the town. The next day he sent for the generals and captains; and when they came near the walls, Xenophon had notice given him, that if he went into the town he should be apprehended, and either suffer some punishment there, or be delivered over to Pharnabazus. When he heard this he sent them on before him, saying, "he had a mind to offer sacrifice;" and returning, he sacrificed, in order to know whether the gods would allow him to endeavour to carry the army to Seuthes; for he saw that it was neither safe to pass over into Asia, since the person who would oppose it had galleys at his command; neither was he willing to shut himself up in the Chersonesus, and expose the army to a general scarcity, where, besides the want of provisions, they would be under a necessity of obeying the governor of the place.

While Xenophon was thus employed the generals and captains came from Aristarchus, and brought

word that he had sent them away for the present, but had ordered them to come back to him in the evening. This made the treachery still more manifest. Xenophon therefore, finding the sacrifice promised security both to himself and the army, in going to Seuthes, took with him Polycrates the Athenian, one of the captains, and from each of the generals, except Neon, a person in whom they confided, and went that night to the army of Seuthes, which lay at the distance of sixty stadia. When they drew near to it he found several fires, but nobody near them, which made him at first conclude that Seuthes had decamped; but hearing a noise, and the men calling out to one another, he understood that Seuthes had, for this reason, ordered fires to be made before his night-guards, that they, being in the dark, might not be seen, neither might it be known where they were; while those who approached the camp could not be concealed, but were discovered by the light. Observing this, he sent the interpreter whom he happened to have with him, and ordered him to acquaint Seuthes that Xenophon was there, and desired a conference with him. They asked whether it was Xenophon the Athenian, one of the army; and on his saying it was he, they returned with great alacrity, and, presently after, about two hundred targeteers appeared, who conducted Xenophon and his company to Seuthes. They found him in a castle, very much on his guard, and round the castle stood horses ready bridled; for, living in continual fear, he fed his horses in the daytime, and stood on his guard all night. It was reported that formerly Teres, the ancestor of this man, having entered this country with a considerable army, lost great numbers of his men, and was stripped of his baggage by the inhabitants: they are called Thynians, and, of all people, are said to be the most dangerous enemies in the night.

When they were near the castle, Seuthes ordered Xenophon to come in with any two of his company:

as soon as they had entered, they first saluted each other, and, according to the Thracian custom, drank to one another in horns full of wine (Medosades being present, who was the ambassador of Seuthes on all occasions): then Xenophon began to speak; "You sent Medosades to me, O Seuthes! first to Chalcedon, to desire I would co-operate with you in getting the army transported out of Asia; and promised, if I effected it, to return the obligation, as Medosades informed me." Having said this, he asked Medosades if it was true, who owned it. Then Xenophon went on: "After I reached the army from Parium, Medosades came to me again, and assured me, if I brought the army to you, that you would not only treat me as a friend and a brother in other respects, but that you would deliver up to me those maritime towns of which you are in possession." After this he again asked Medosades if he said so, who owned that also. "Then," said Xenophon, "let Seuthes know the answer I made to you at Chalcedon." "You answered, first, that the army had resolved to go over to Byzantium, and therefore there was no reason to give any thing, either to you, or to any other person, on that account: you added that, as soon as you had crossed the sea, you designed to leave the army, which happened accordingly." "What," said Xenophon, "did I say when you came to Selymbria?" "You said that what I proposed was impracticable, because the army had determined to go to Perinthus, in order to pass over to Asia." "Here I am then," said Xenophon, "with Phryniscus, one of the generals, and Polycrates, one of the captains; and, without, are those who are most confided in by each of the generals, except Neon the Lacedæmonian: and if you desire that our stipulation should receive a greater sanction, let them also be called in. Do you, therefore, Polycrates, go to them, and tell them, from me, that I desire they would leave their arms without, and do you leave your sword there also, and come in."

Seuthes, hearing this, said he should distrust no Athenian; for he knew them to be related to him, and looked on them as his affectionate friends. When all proper persons were come in, Xenophon first asked Seuthes what use he proposed to make of the army? To this he answered, "Mæsadés was my father, under whose government were the Malandepsans, the Thynians, and the Thranipsans. My father, being driven out of this country when the affairs of the Odrysians declined, died of sickness, and I, being then an orphan, was brought up at the court of Medocus, the present king. When I grew up, I could not bear to subsist on another man's liberality. As I was sitting, therefore, by him, I begged of him to give me as many troops as he could spare, that, if possible, I might take revenge on those who had expelled our family, and be no longer, like a dog, supported at his table. On this, he gave me those forces, both of horse and of foot, which you shall see as soon as it is day; and I now subsist by plundering my paternal country with these troops: to which if you join your forces, I have reason to believe, that with the assistance of the gods I shall easily recover my kingdom. This is what I desire at your hands."

"Let us know then," said Xenophon, "what you have in your power to give to the army, the captains, and the generals, if we come; to the end that these may make their report." He promised to every common soldier a cyzicene, two to the captains, and four to the generals; with as much land as they desired, besides yokes of oxen, and a walled town near the sea. "If," said Xenophon, "I endeavour to effect what you desire, but am prevented by the fear that may be entertained of the Lacedæmonians, will you receive into your country any who shall be desirous to come to you?" He answered, "Not only that, but I will treat them like brothers, give them a place at my table, and make them partakers

of every thing we shall conquer: to you, Xenophon, I will give my daughter, and if you have one I will buy her according to the Thracian custom, and give you Bisanthe for your habitation, which is the handsomest town belonging to me near the sea."

III. After they heard this they embraced and went away; and arriving at the camp before day, each of them made his report to those who sent them. As soon as it was light, Aristarchus sent again for the generals and captains to come to him, but they declined it, and determined, instead of going to Aristarchus, to call the army together; and all the soldiers assembled, besides those belonging to Neon, who encamped at the distance of about ten stadia from the rest. When they were assembled, Xenophon rose up and spoke as follows:

"Friends! Aristarchus with his galleys hinders us from sailing to the place we proposed: so that it is not safe for us to embark. He would have us force our way over the holy mountain into the Chersonesus. If we gain that pass, and arrive there, he says he will neither sell any more of you, as he did in Byzantium, nor deceive you any longer; but that you will then be the better entitled to receive pay. He promises, also, that he will no longer suffer us, as he does now, to want provisions. Thus Aristarchus says. On the other hand, Seuthes engages, that if you go to him, you shall find your account in it. Consider, therefore, whether you will deliberate on this matter while you stay here, or after you are returned to the place where you may supply yourselves with provisions. My opinion is, since we neither have money to purchase what we want, nor are suffered to supply ourselves without it, that we return to the villages, where the inhabitants, being weaker than we are, do not oppose it; and where, after we are supplied with what is necessary, and have heard in what service each of them proposes to employ us, we may choose that measure which shall

appear most to our advantage. Whoever, therefore, is of this opinion, let him hold up his hand." And they all held up their hands. "Go then," continued he, "and get your baggage ready, and when the order is given, follow your leader."

After this Xenophon put himself at their head, and they followed him. But Neon, together with some other persons sent by Aristarchus, would have persuaded them to turn back; but they regarded them not. When they had marched about thirty stadia, Seuthes met them. As soon as Xenophon saw him, he desired he would draw near, that as many of the army as possible might hear what he had to propose for their advantage. When he came up, Xenophon said, "We are marching to some place where the army may find provisions, and where, after we have heard what you and the Lacedæmonians have to propose to us, we shall be determined by that which appears most to our advantage. If, therefore, you will conduct us to some place where there is great abundance, we shall look on ourselves under the same obligation to you as if you entertained us yourself." Seuthes answered, "I know where there are many villages that lie together, and are well supplied with all sorts of provisions; they are so near that you may march thither with ease before dinner." "Lead the way, therefore," said Xenophon. The army being arrived in the villages in the afternoon, the soldiers assembled, and Seuthes spoke to them in the following manner: "Friends! I desire you will assist me with your arms; and I promise to each of you a cyzicene for your monthly pay, and to the captains and generals what is customary. Besides this I will do honour to every man who shall deserve it. As to meat and drink you shall supply yourselves with both, as you do now, out of the country. But I must insist on retaining the booty, that by selling it I may provide for your pay. We ourselves shall be sufficient to pursue and discover



those of the enemy who fly and seek to conceal themselves, and with your assistance we will endeavour to overcome those who resist." Xenophon then asked him, "How far from the sea he proposed the army should follow him?" He answered, "Never more than seven days' march, and often less."

After that every man who desired to offer any thing had liberty to speak, and several of them agreed that the proposals of Seuthes were very advantageous: for it being now winter, it was possible neither for those who desired it to sail home, nor for the army to subsist in the territories of their friends, if they were to pay for every thing they had. They considered, also, that it would be safer for them to remain and find subsistence in an enemy's country jointly with Seuthes than by themselves; and that if, while they were in possession of so many advantages, they also received pay, it would be a piece of good fortune they had no reason to expect. Then Xenophon said, "If any one has any thing to say against this, let him speak; if not, let him give his vote for it;" and there being no opposition, they gave their votes for it, and it was resolved accordingly; and Xenophon immediately told Seuthes, "they would enter into his service."

After that the soldiers encamped in their ranks; while the generals and captains were invited by Seuthes to sup with him at his quarters in a neighbouring village. When they came to the door, one Heraclides of Maronea addressed himself to those he thought in a capacity of making presents to Seuthes; and first to some Parian deputies who were there, being sent to establish a friendship with Medocus, king of the Odrysians, and who had brought presents both for him and his queen: to these he said, "that Medocus lived up in the country twelve days' journey from the sea; and that Seuthes, now he had taken this army into his service, would be master of the seacoast: being, therefore, your neighbour," said

ne, "it will be very much in his power to do you both good and harm: so that if you are wise, you will make a present to him of what you have brought, which will be laid out much more to your advantage than if you give it to Medocus, who lives at so great a distance from you:" by this means he prevailed on them. Afterward he came to Timasion of Dardanus, hearing he had cups and Persian carpets,<sup>1</sup> and told him it was the custom for those who were invited to supper by Seuthes to make him presents: adding, that "if he becomes considerable in this country, he will be able both to restore you to yours, and to enrich you when you are there." In this manner he provided for Seuthes, addressing himself to each of them. When he came to Xenophon, he said, "You are not only of the most considerable city, but are yourself in the greatest reputation with Seuthes, and may possibly desire to be master of some place of strength with lands in these parts, as others of your countrymen are: it is therefore worth your while to honour Seuthes in the most magnificent manner. I give you this advice because I wish you well; for I am satisfied the more your presents exceed those of your companions, the more the advantages you will receive from Seuthes will exceed theirs." When Xenophon heard this he was in great perplexity; for he had brought with him from Parium only one servant, and just money enough for his journey.

The most considerable of the Thracians who were present, together with the Greek generals and captains, and all the deputies of towns who were there, then went in to supper; at which they placed themselves in a ring. After that every one of the guests had a tripod brought him: these were about twenty

<sup>1</sup> Persian carpets have always been famous for their beauty, for which reason, and because these carpets were part of the spoils taken by the Greeks from the Persians, I have ventured to call them Persian carpets rather than Barbaric, after Milton:

Where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,  
Shows on her king Barbaric pearl and gold.

in number, full of meat cut in pieces, and large leavened loaves were skewered to the meat. The dishes were always placed before the strangers preferably to the rest of the company; for that was their custom. Seuthes then set the example of what follows: he took the loaves that lay before him, and breaking them into small pieces, threw them about to those he thought proper; he did the same with the meat, leaving no more for himself than what served for a taste. The rest, before whom the meat was served, did the same thing. There was an Arcadian in company, whose name was Aristus, a great eater: this man, instead of employing his time in throwing about the victuals, took a loaf of three chœnixes in his hand, and laying some meat on his knees, ate his supper. In the mean time they carried about horns of wine, and everybody took one. When the cupbearer brought the horn to Aristus, he, seeing Xenophon had done supper, said, "Go, give it to him, he is at leisure; I am not so yet." When Seuthes heard him speak, he asked the cupbearer what he said, who told him, for he could speak Greek; on this there was great laughing.

The cup going round, a Thracian entered, leading in a white horse, and taking a horn full of wine, "Seuthes!" said he, "I drink to you, and make you a present of this horse, with which you may take any one you pursue, and in a retreat you will have no reason to fear the enemy." Another brought a boy, whom he in the same manner presented, drinking to him: and another, clothes for his wife. Timasion, drinking to him, made him a present of a silver cup, and a carpet worth ten mines. Then one Gnesippus, an Athenian, rose up and said, "There was a very good old custom, which ordains that those who have any thing shall make presents to the king, to show their respect; but the king shall make presents to those who have nothing. Let this custom be observed," said he, "that I also may have

something to present you with, and show my respect." Xenophon was at a loss what to do; for he had the honour done him to be placed next to Seuthes; and Heraclides had ordered the cupbearer to give him the horn. However, he stood up boldly (for by this time he had drank more than usual), and taking the horn, said, "O Seuthes! I present you both with myself and with these my companions as your faithful friends: I am confident none of them will refuse the condition, but all contend with me in their zeal for your service. Here they now are, with a view of asking no other favour of you but to undertake labours and dangers for your sake. By whose assistance, if the gods are favourable, you may become master of a large tract of country, by recovering that part of it which belonged to your paternal kingdom, and conquering the rest: by their assistance also, you will make yourself master of many horses, and of many men and beautiful women, whom you need not take away by force; on the contrary, they will come and offer themselves to you with presents in their hands." On this Seuthes got up and pledged Xenophon, pouring what remained in the horn on the person who sat next to him. After this some Cerasuntæans came in; these sounded a charge with pipes and trumpets made of raw hides, keeping time as if they played on the magade.<sup>1</sup> On this Seuthes himself got up, and shouted in a warlike manner, then with great agility sprung out of the place where he stood, imitating a man who avoids a dart. There came in also buffoons.

When it was about sunset the Greeks rose up, and said it was time to place the guards for the night, and give the word. At the same time they desired Seuthes to give orders that none of the Thracians might come into the Greek camp in the night; "for,"

<sup>1</sup> This musical instrument is said to have been a kind of flute. Strabo reckons it among those whose names were taken from the Barbarians. It was probably an instrument of war.

said they, "some of that nation are our enemies, though you are our friends." As they went out Seuthes got up, showing no signs of being drunk, and going out also, he called the generals to him, and said, "Friends! the enemy as yet knows nothing of our alliance; if, therefore, we fall on them before they are either on their guard against a surprise, or prepared for their defence, it will be the most effectual means of gaining great booty, and taking many prisoners." The generals were of the same opinion, and desired him to lead them. Then Seuthes said, "Do you make yourselves ready, and stay for me; when it is time I will come back to you; and taking the targeteers and you with me, with the assistance of the gods, I will lead you against the enemy." On this Xenophon said, "Consider, then, since we are to march by night, whether the Greek custom is not preferable. In the daytime either the heavy-armed men, or the horse march in the van, according to the nature of the ground; but in the night it is always the custom among the Greeks for the slowest corps to lead the way. By this means the army is less subject to be separated, and the men have fewer opportunities of straggling without being taken notice of; it often happening in the night that the troops when separated fall on one another, and not being able to distinguish friends from enemies, both do and suffer great damage." Seuthes answered, "You say well, and I will conform to your custom and will take care you shall have guides, such as among the oldest of my people, are best acquainted with the country; while I bring up the rear with the horse; and if there is occasion I can soon come up to the front." The Athenians gave the word, by reason of their alliance to Seuthes. After this they went to rest.

When it was about midnight Seuthes came to them, with the horse clad in their coats-of-mail and the targeteers with their arms. After he had

delivered the guides to them the heavy-armed men marched in the van, the targeteers followed, and the horse brought up the rear. As soon as it was day, Seuthes, riding up to the front, extolled the Greek custom: "For it has often happened to me," said he, "when I have been on a march in the night, though with a few troops, to have my horse separated from the foot; whereas now, at break of day, we appear as we ought, all together. But do you halt here and repose yourselves, and when I have taken a view of the country I will come back to you." Having said this he met with a path which led him to the top of a mountain, where coming to a great deal of snow, he examined the road, to see whether there were any footsteps of men pointing either forward or backward; and finding the way untrodden, he returned presently, and said, "Friends! our design will succeed, the gods willing: we shall surprise the people: but I will lead the way with the horse, that if we discover any one he may not escape and give notice to the enemy: do you come after; and if you are left behind, follow the track of the horse. After we have passed these mountains we shall come to a great many rich villages."

When it was noon, Seuthes, having reached the summit of the mountains, and taken a view of the villages, rode back to the heavy-armed men, and said, "I now propose to send the horse to scour the plain, and the targeteers to attack the villages; do you follow as fast as you can, that if they find any resistance, you may support them." When Xenophon heard this he alighted from his horse: on which Seuthes said, "Why do you alight, when expedition is required?" The other answered, "I know that by myself I can be of no service: besides, the heavy-armed men will march with greater speed and alacrity if I lead them on foot."

After this Seuthes, and with him Timasion, with about forty of the Greek horse, went away. Then

Xenophon ordered those of each company who were under thirty years of age, and prepared for expedition, to advance; and with these he ran forward, while Cleanor brought up the rest of the Greeks. When they were in the villages, Seuthes, riding up to Xenophon with about fifty horse, said, "What you foretold has happened: the men are taken; but our horse have left me, and are gone away without a commander, some following the pursuit one way, some another; and I am afraid lest the enemy should rally, and do us some mischief: some of us must also remain in the villages, for they are full of men." Xenophon answered, "With the troops I have I will possess myself of the eminences. Do you order Cleanor to extend his line in the plain, against the villages." After they had put these things in execution they got together about one thousand slaves, two thousand oxen, and ten thousand head of other cattle; and there they quartered that night.

IV. The next day, after Seuthes had burned all the villages, without leaving a single house, in order to terrify the rest by letting them see what they were to expect if they refused to submit, he returned, and sent the booty to Perinthus to be sold by Heraclides, that he might by that means raise money to pay the soldiers. In the mean time Seuthes and the Greeks encamped in the plain of the Thynians; but the inhabitants left their houses, and fled to the mountains.

Here fell a great snow, and the cold was so severe that the water the servants brought in for supper, and the wine in the vessels, were frozen, and the noses and ears of many of the Greeks were numbed with the cold. This explained to us the reason that induces the Thracians to wear foxes' skins<sup>1</sup> over their

<sup>1</sup> After Xerxes had passed the Hellespont with his prodigious army he reviewed them in the plain of Doriscus; among his troops were Thracians, who, according to Herodotus, wore foxes' skins on their heads, and whose dress he describes not unlike that of the Thracians with whom Xenophon was acquainted. Whether these Thracians wore foxes'

heads and ears, and vests, that not only cover their breasts but their thighs also, with cassocks reaching down to their feet when they ride, instead of cloaks. Seuthes sent some of the prisoners to the mountains, to acquaint the inhabitants that if they did not come down, and returning to their habitations submit to him, he would burn their villages also, together with their corn, and then they must perish with hunger. On this the women and children with the old men came down, but the younger sort encamped in the villages under the mountain: which when Seuthes observed, he desired Xenophon to take with him the youngest of the heavy-armed men and follow him; and leaving their camp in the night, they arrived by break of day at the villages: but the greatest part of the inhabitants quitted them: for the mountain was near. However, Seuthes ordered all they took to be pierced with darts.

There was present an Olynthian, his name Episthenes: this man, seeing a handsome boy just in his bloom, with a buckler in his hand going to be put to death, ran to Xenophon and begged of him to intercede for so beautiful a youth. On this Xenophon went to Seuthes, and desired he would not put the boy to death, acquainting him at the same time with

skins on their heads to preserve them from the cold, as our author seems to think, or whether they wore them by way of armour, and as a distinction in war, I shall not determine; but we find that many nations, inhabiting the warmest climates, wore the skins of several beasts on their heads when they went to war: on those occasions the upper jaw or forehead of the animal was fixed to the top of their heads, I suppose to give them a fierce look. Herodotus tells us, that in the same army the Indians, whom he calls the Asiatic Ethiopians, wore on their heads the skins of horses' heads, with the mane flowing, and the ears erect. I cannot help mentioning on this occasion a passage of Diodorus Siculus, because it shows the origin of a very great folly committed by a very wise people, I mean the worship of Anubis by the Egyptians: he tells us that Anubis and Marcedon, two sons of Osiris, attended him in his expedition to the Indies, and that their armour was taken from animals that bore some resemblance to their fortitude, Anubis wearing the skin of a dog, and Marcedon that of a wolf; for which reason, he says, these animals were worshipped by the Egyptians. The Roman signiferi or Trajan's pillar have most of them their heads and shoulders covered with the skins of lions, something like Aventinus in Virgil.



the character of Episthenes, and that he once raised a company in which he considered nothing but the beauty of his men; at the head of whom he always behaved himself with bravery. Hereon Seuthes said, "O Episthenes! are you willing to die for this boy?" The other, stretching out his neck, answered, "Strike, if the boy commands, and will think himself obliged to me." Seuthes then asked the boy whether he should strike Episthenes instead of him. This the boy would not suffer, but begged he would kill neither. On this Episthenes, embracing the boy, said, "Now, Seuthes, you must contend with me for him; for I will not part with the boy." This made Seuthes laugh; who, leaving this subject, thought proper they should encamp where they were, to the end that the people who had fled to the mountains might not be subsisted out of these villages. So he, descending a little way into the plain, encamped there; and Xenophon with the chosen men quartered in the village that lay nearest the foot of the hill, and the rest of the Greeks not far from him, among those they call the mountain Thracians.

A few days after, the Thracians, coming down from the mountains to Seuthes, treated concerning hostages and a peace. Hereon Xenophon went to him and let him know that the post they were in was very disadvantageous, that the enemy was not far off, and that he had rather encamp abroad in any other place, than in a strait, where they were in danger of being destroyed: but Seuthes bid him fear nothing, and showed him their hostages then in his custody. Some of the Thracians, coming down from the mountain, besought Xenophon also to assist them in obtaining a peace. He promised his assistance, and encouraged them with this assurance, that if they submitted to Seuthes they had nothing to fear. At they, it seems, were spies sent to amuse them with these proposals.

This passed in the daytime: the following night

the Thynians came down from the mountain, and attacked them; their leaders were the masters of every house, it being difficult for any other to find the houses in the dark, because they were surrounded with great palisades to secure the cattle. When they came to the door of each habitation, some threw in darts, others clubs, which they carried with a design, as they said, of breaking off the points of the pikes; and some were employed in setting fire to the houses: these called out to Xenophon by name to come out and meet his fate, threatening, if he refused, to burn him in the house.

By this time the fire came through the roof, and Xenophon and his men were within, with their corslets on, their shields and swords in their hands, and their helmets on their heads; when Silanus Maces-tius, a youth of eighteen years of age, gave the signal by sounding a trumpet; on which the rest also at once, rushed out of the other houses with their swords drawn. Whereon the Thracians fled, covering their backs with their bucklers, according to their custom: and some of them, endeavouring to leap over the palisades, were taken hanging on them, their bucklers being set fast; others, missing the way out, were killed, and the Greeks pursued them out of the village. However, a party of the Thynians, coming back in the dark, threw darts at some of the Greeks as they ran by a house that was on fire, taking their aim from an obscure place at those who were in the light, and wounded Hieronymus, Enodias, and Theagenes, a Locrian, all captains; but nobody as killed, though some had their clothes and baggage burned. Seuthes came to their relief with seven horse, the first he met, bringing with him a Thracian trumpeter, who, from the time the other found they were attacked and set out to relieve them, continued sounding till the action was over; which did not a little contribute to terrify the enemy: when he cæ

he embraced the Greeks, saying he expected to find a great number of them slain.

After this Xenophon desired Seuthes to deliver to him the hostages, and march up to the mountain with him if he thought proper: if not, that he would leave it to his conduct. The next day, therefore, Seuthes delivered to him the hostages, who were elderly men, the most considerable, as they said, of the mountain Thracians, and he himself set out with his own forces. By this time the army of Seuthes was increased to three times the number it before consisted of; for many of the Odrysians, being informed of what Seuthes was doing, came down to his assistance. When the Thynians saw from the mountain great numbers of heavy-armed men, of targeteers, and of horse, they came down and sued for peace, promising to do every thing that was required of them, and desired Seuthes would take pledges for their fidelity. He, calling Xenophon to him, informed him of what they said, letting him know at the same time that he would not make peace if he desired to take revenge of them for attacking him. Xenophon answered that he was sufficiently revenged if these people were, instead of freemen, to become slaves: but withal, advised him for the future to take for hostages those who had most power to do him harm, and to let the old men stay at home. All the Thracians, therefore, in this part of the country submitted to Seuthes.

V. They next marched into the country called the Delta, belonging to the Thracians, which lies above Byzantium. This country did not belong to the kingdom of Mæsadés, but to that of Teres the Odrysian, one of their ancient kings: here they found Heraclides, with the money he had raised by the sale of the booty. And here Seuthes, having ordered three yokes of mules (for there were no more) and several of oxen to be brought out, sent for Xenophon, and desired he would accept the first, and dis-

tribute the rest among the generals and captains; but Xenophon said, "I shall be satisfied if I, receiving your favours another time, give these to the generals and the captains who with me have attended you in this expedition." On which Timasion the Dardanian received one yoke of mules, Cleanor the Orchomenian another, and Phryniscus the Achaian the third. The yokes of oxen he distributed among the captains; but gave the army no more than twenty days' pay, though the month was expired: for Heraclides said he could not sell the booty for more. Xenophon was concerned at this, and said, "O Heraclides! you do not seem to have so great a regard for Seuthes as you ought to have; if you had, you would have brought the army their full pay; though you had taken up at interest, and even sold your own clothes to raise as much as would have completed it, if you could not get the money by any other means."

This reproach gave Heraclides great uneasiness, and made him apprehend he should lose the favour of Seuthes; and from that day he laboured all he could to give Seuthes ill impressions of Xenophon, on whom not only the soldiers laid the blame of their not receiving their pay, but Seuthes also resented his earnestness in demanding it. And whereas, before, he was for ever telling him that when he arrived at the sea he would put him in possession of Bisanthe, Ganus, and Neon Teichus; from this time he never mentioned any thing of that kind; for Heraclides on this occasion had also recourse to calumny, suggesting that it was not safe to intrust places of strength with a person who was at the head of an army.

On this Xenophon considered with himself what was to be done about pursuing their expedition against the upper Thracians; when Heraclides, taking the rest of the generals to Seuthes, desired them to assure him that they could lead the army as well as Xenophon, and promised that in a few days he would

give them their pay complete for two months, advising them at the same time to continue in the service of Seuthes. On which Timasion said, "If you would give me five months' pay I would not serve without Xenophon;" and Phryniscus and Cleanor said the same thing.

This made Seuthes chide Heraclides for not calling in Xenophon; so they sent for him alone; but he being sensible this was an artifice of Heraclides, contrived to create a jealousy in the rest of the generals, took not only all the generals but likewise all the captains along with him; and all of them approving of what Seuthes proposed, they pursued their expedition, and marching through the country of the Thracians called the Melinophagi, with the Euxine Sea on their right-hand, they arrived at Salmydessus. Here many ships on their arrival in the Euxine Sea strike and are driven ashore, the coast being full of shoals that run a considerable way into the sea. The Thracians, who inhabit this coast, raise pillars in the nature of bound-stones; and every man plunders the wreck that is cast on his own coast. It is said that before they erected these pillars many of them lost their lives by quarrelling with one another about the plunder. In this place are found many beds, boxes, books, and several other things which sailors usually carry in their chests. The army after they had subdued this people marched back: that of Seuthes was now grown superior in number to the Greeks; for many more of the Odrysians were come down to him, and the Thracians as fast as they submitted, joined the army. They now lay encamped in a plain above Selymbria, about fifty stadia from the sea: as yet no pay appeared, and not only the soldiers were displeased at Xenophon, but Seuthes himself was no longer disposed in his favour: and whenever he desired to be admitted to him, business of many kinds was pretended.

VI. Two months were now very near elapsed, when Charminus the Lacedæmonian and Polynicus arrived from Thimbron. They gave an account that the Lacedæmonians had resolved to make war on Tissaphernes, and that Thimbron had sailed from Greece with that design. They added that he had occasion for this army, and that every common soldier should have a darick a month, the captains two, and the generals four. On the arrival of the Lacedæmonians, Heraclides, hearing they were come for the army, immediately told Seuthes it was a happy incident: "For," said he, "the Lacedæmonians are in want of the army, and you are not so. In resigning it, you will confer an obligation on them, and the soldiers will no longer ask you for their pay, but will leave the country."

Seuthes, hearing this, ordered the Lacedæmonians to be brought in; and on their saying they came for the army, he told them he was willing to resign it, and desired they would account him their friend and ally: he also invited them to his table pursuant to the laws of hospitality, and gave them a magnificent entertainment. But he did not invite Xenophon, or any one of the other generals. The Lacedæmonians inquiring what kind of man Xenophon was, he answered that he was in other respects no bad man, but a friend to the soldiers; which is prejudicial to him. "But," said they, "is he a popular man with them?" "Altogether so," said Heraclides. "Then," answered the Lacedæmonians, "will he not oppose our leading away the army?" "If you call the soldiers together," said Heraclides, "and promise them pay, they will have no regard to him, but will quickly follow you." "How," replied they, "shall they be assembled for that purpose?" "Early tomorrow morning," said Heraclides, "we will bring you to them, and I am confident," added he, "that as soon as they see you they will cheerfully assemble." This was the result of that day's business.

The next, Seuthes and Heraclides brought the Lacedæmonians to the army, which assembled for that purpose. These informed them that the Lacedæmonians had resolved to make war on Tissaphernes, "who," said they, "has injured you. If, therefore, you engage with us, you will both revenge yourselves of an enemy, and receive each of you a darick a month, the captains two, and the generals four." This was well received by the soldiers; and presently one of the Arcadians rose up to accuse Xenophon. Seuthes was also present, being desirous to know the result, and for that purpose had placed himself within hearing with his interpreter; though he himself understood most things that were spoken in Greek. The Arcadian said, "Know, then, O Lacedæmonians! that we should long since have engaged ourselves in your service, if Xenophon had not prevailed on us to come hither; where, though we have been on duty both night and day during this severe winter, we have acquired nothing, while he enjoys the reward of our labour, and Seuthes enriches him personally, and deprives us of our pay: so that," continued he, "if I could see this man stoned to death, and punished for leading us about, I should think I had received my pay, and no longer regret my labour." After him another got up, and then another: on which Xenophon spoke as follows:

"There is nothing a man ought not to expect, since I find myself accused by you for that in which my conscience tells me I have had all the zeal in the world for your service. I was already set out in order to go home, when I turned back, be assured, not because I heard you were in prosperity, but rather because I was informed you were in difficulties, with the intent that I might serve you if it was in my power. When I came to the army, though Seuthes sent several messengers to me with many promises in case I prevailed on you to go to him, yet I never endeavoured so to do, as you yourselves

know; but led you to that place from whence I thought you would have the quickest passage into Asia. This I looked on as a measure the most agreeable both to your interest and inclination. But when Aristarchus arrived with the galleys, and prevented your passage, I then, as it became me, called you together, that we might consider what was to be done. On that occasion you heard, on one side, Aristarchus ordering you to go to the Chersonesus, and on the other, Seuthes proposing terms to engage you in his service; when all of you declared you would go with Seuthes, and all gave your votes for it. Say, then, if I committed any crime in conducting you whither you all resolved to go. If when Seuthes began to break his promise concerning your pay, I then commended him, you would have reason both to accuse and hate me; but if I, who was before his greatest friend, am now his greatest enemy, how can you any longer with justice blame me, who have given you the preference to Seuthes, for those very things about which I quarrel with him? Possibly you may say that I have received your pay of Seuthes, and that all I say is artifice; but is it not plain that if Seuthes paid me any thing, it was not with a view of being deprived of that part of your pay which he gave me, and of paying you the rest? On the contrary, if he had given me any thing, I dare say his design would have been to excuse himself from paying you a large sum by giving me a small one. If, therefore, you are of opinion that this is the case, it is in your power presently to render this collusion useless to both of us, by insisting on your pay: for it is evident that Seuthes, if I have received a bribe from him, will with justice redemand it when I fail in performing the contract in consideration of which I was bribed. But my conscience tells me that I am far from having received any thing that belongs to you: for I swear by all the gods and goddesses that I have not even received from Seuthe



what he promised me in particular. He is present himself, and as he hears me, he knows whether I am guilty of perjury or not: and that you may still have more reason to wonder, I also swear that I have not only received less than the rest of the generals, but even than some of the captains. For what reason then did I do this? I flattered myself, friends, that the greater share I had of this man's poverty, the greater I should have of his friendship when it was in his power to show it: but I see him now in prosperity, and at the same time discover his temper. Possibly some may say, are you not then ashamed to be thus stupidly deceived? I should, indeed, be ashamed to be thus deceived by an enemy; but in my opinion there is a greater shame in deceiving a friend, than in being deceived by him. If it is allowed to be on one's guard against a friend, I know you have all been very careful not to give this man a just pretence to refuse the payment of what he promised: for we have neither done him any injury, neither have we hurt his affairs through negligence, nor through fear declined any enterprise he proposed to us. But, you will say, we ought then to have taken some assurance, that although he had been desirous to deceive us, he might not even have had it in his power. Hear, then, what I should never have mentioned before him, unless you had shown yourselves either entirely inconsiderate or very ungrateful to me. You remember under what difficulties you laboured, from which I extricated you by conducting you to Seuthes. When you offered to go into Perinthus, did not Aristarchus the Lacedæmonian shut the gates against you? Did not you, on that, encamp in the open field? Was not this in the middle of winter? Was there not a scarcity of provisions in the market, and a scarcity of the means to purchase them? In the mean time you were under a necessity of staying in Thrace (for the galleys lay at anchor to observe your motions, and hinder your

passage); and while you staid, you staid in an enemy's country, where great numbers both of horse and targeteers were ready to oppose you. It is true we had heavy-armed men, who by going into the village in a body might possibly provide themselves with a small quantity of corn; but we were not prepared to pursue the enemy, or supply ourselves with slaves and cattle; for at my return I found neither the horse nor targeteers any longer in a body. While, therefore, you were in so great necessity; if, without even insisting on any pay, I had procured Seuthes to become your ally, who had both horse and targeteers, which you were in want of, do you think I should have made bad terms for you? It was owing to their assistance that you not only found greater quantities of corn in the villages, the Thracians being thereby obliged to precipitate their flight, but had also your share both of cattle and slaves. From the time also we had the assistance of these horse we saw no enemy, though before they boldly harassed us both with their horse and targeteers, and by hindering us from going in small parties prevented our supplying ourselves with provisions in any quantity. But if the person whose assistance procured you this security has not also paid you very considerably for being secure, can you look on this as a moving calamity? And for this do you think yourselves obliged, by no means, to suffer me to live? But in what circumstances are you, now you are leaving this country? After you have passed the winter in plenty, have you not, as an occasion to this advantage, the money you have received from Seuthes? For you have lived at the expense of the enemy; and while you have been thus employed, none of you have either been killed or taken prisoners. If you have gained some reputation against the Barbarians in Asia, is not that entire, and have you not added a new glory to it by the conquest of the European Thracians? I own I think

I.—X

you ought to return thanks to the gods for those very things, as for so many blessings, for which you are displeased with me. This is the situation of your affairs: consider now, I beg of you, that of mine. When I first set sail in order to return home, I went away attended with great praise from you, and through you with reputation from the rest of Greece: I had also the confidence of the Lacedæmonians, otherwise they would not have sent me back to you: now I go away suspected by the Lacedæmonians, through your means, and hated by Seuthes on your account, whom I proposed, by uniting my services to yours, to have made an honourable refuge both to myself and my children, if I should have any: while you, for whose sake chiefly I have made myself odious, and that to persons far more powerful than myself; while you, I say, for whom I cease not, even now, to procure all the advantages I am able, entertain such thoughts of me. You have me in your power; I neither fled from you, nor endeavoured to fly; and if you do what you say, know that you will put to death a man who has often watched for your safety; who has undergone many labours and dangers with you, while he not only did his own duty but that of others; who, by the favour of the gods, has with you raised many trophies of the Barbarians' defeats, and who laboured to the utmost of his power to engage you to make none of the Greeks your enemies. For you are now at liberty to go whithersoever you please, either by sea or land, without control. This then is the season, when there is so great an appearance of prosperity; now you are going to sail for a country where you have long since desired to be; when those who are most powerful want your assistance; when pay is offered, and the Lacedæmonians, who are allowed to be the best generals, are come to command you; this, I say, you think the proper season to put me to death. You did not think fit

to do it when we were in difficulties;—O men of admirable memories! then you called me father, and promised ever to remember me as your benefactor. However, those who are now come to command you are not void of sense; so that I believe your behaviour to me will not recommend you to them.” Xenophon said no more.

Then Charminus, the Lacedæmonian, rose up and spoke in the following manner: “Friends! you seem to have no just cause of displeasure against this man, since I myself can give testimony in his favour: for Seuthes, when Polynicus and I inquired what kind of man Xenophon was, had nothing else to lay to his charge, but that he was a great friend to the soldiers, which, said he, hurts him both with regard to the Lacedæmonians and to myself.” After him Eurylochus of Lusi, an Arcadian, got up and said, “My opinion is, O Lacedæmonians! that the first act of generalship you exercise should be to obtain our pay of Seuthes, either with or without his consent; and that till then you ought not to carry us away.” Polycrates, the Athenian, next rose up and spoke in favour of Xenophon. “Friends!” said he, “I see Heraclides also present in the assembly, who, having received the booty we acquired by our labour, and sold it, has neither paid the money to Seuthes, nor to us; but having robbed both, still keeps possession of it. If, therefore, we are wise, let us apprehend him; for this man is no Thracian, but being himself a Greek, does an injury to Greeks.”

Heraclides, hearing this, was thunderstruck, and coming to Seuthes, said, “If we are wise, we shall withdraw ourselves out of the power of these people.” So they mounted on horseback, and rode off to their own camp; from whence Seuthes sent Ebozelmius, his interpreter, to Xenophon, to desire him to remain in his service with a thousand of the heavy-armed men, assuring him at the same time that he would give him the places of strength near the sea, and

every thing else he had promised him. To this he added, as a secret, that he was informed by Poly-  
nicus, that if he put himself in the power of the Lace-  
dæmonians, he would certainly be put to death by  
Thimbron. Many other persons also, between whom  
and Xenophon there was an intercourse of hospi-  
tality, gave him notice that he lay under a suspicion,  
and ought to be on his guard. Xenophon, hearing  
this, offered two victims to Jupiter the king, and con-  
sulted him whether it were better and more advan-  
tageous for him to stay with Seuthes, on the terms  
he proposed, or to depart with the army; and Jupiter  
signified to him that he ought to depart.

VII. After that Seuthes encamped at a greater  
distance, and the Greeks quartered in the villages,  
from whence they might get most provisions, before  
they returned to the sea. These villages Seuthes  
had given to Medosades, who, seeing every thing in  
them consumed by the Greeks, resented it; and  
taking with him an Odrysian, a man of the greatest  
power of all those who had come from the Upper  
Thracia to join Seuthes, and about fifty horse, came  
to the Greek army, and called Xenophon to come to  
him, who, taking some of the captains and other  
proper persons, went to him. Then Medosades said,  
“You do us an injury, O Xenophon! in laying waste  
our villages. Wherefore we give you notice, I in  
the name of Seuthes, and this man from Medocus,  
king of the Upper Thrace, to leave the country;  
otherwise we shall not allow you to remain here;  
and if you continue to infest our territories we shall  
treat you as enemies.”

When Xenophon heard this, he said, “What you  
say is of such a nature that it is even a pain to me  
to give an answer to it: however, I shall return, one  
for the information of this youth, that he may be  
acquainted both with your behaviour and with ours.  
Before we entered into an alliance with you, we  
marched through this country at our pleasure, and

laid waste and burned any part of it we thought proper; and you yourself, when you came to us in the quality of an ambassador, staid with us without the apprehension of an enemy. Whereas, you, who are subjects of Seuthes, either never came into this country at all, or if you came hither, you kept your horses ready bridled while you staid, as in a country belonging to those who were more powerful than yourselves. But now, since by becoming our allies you have got possession of it, you would drive us out of this country, though you received it from us as a conquest we were willing to resign, for you yourself are sensible the enemy was not strong enough to dispossess us; and not only want to send us away without any acknowledgment for the benefits you have received, but also to hinder us, as far as you are able, from encamping in the country as we pass through it; and this you urge, without reverence either to the gods or to this man, who sees you now abounding in riches; you who, before you entered into an alliance with us, lived by plunder, as you yourself have owned. But why do you say this to me?" continued he, "for I have no longer the command; but the Lacedæmonians, to whom you resigned the army, that they might lead it away, which you did without consulting me, most admirable men! and without giving me an opportunity of obliging them by delivering the army to them, as I had disoblighed them by conducting it to you." As soon as the Odrysian heard what Xenophon said, "O Medosades!" said he, "I am ready to sink into the earth with shame when I hear this. Had I known it before, I should not have accompanied you, and shall now depart; for Medocus my sovereign will not approve of my conduct, if I should drive our benefactors out of the country." Having said this, he mounted on horseback, and rode away with all the rest of the horse, except four or five. On which Medosades, for he was uneasy to see the country l

waste, desired Xenophon to call the two Lacedæmonians. He, taking some proper persons along with him, went to Charminus and Polynicus, and told them that Medosades desired they would come to him, designing to order them to leave the country. "It is my opinion, therefore," said he, "that you will receive the pay due to the army, if you let him know that the soldiers have desired you to assist them in obtaining it, either with or without the consent of Seuthes; and that they engage to follow you with cheerfulness, if they succeed in their demands. Tell him at the same time that you find their claim is founded in justice, and that you have promised them not to depart till they succeed in it." The Lacedæmonians, hearing this, said they would acquaint him with it, and with whatever else would prove most effectual; and immediately set out with proper persons to attend them. When they arrived, Charminus said, "O Medosades! if you have any thing to say to us, speak; if not, we have something to say to you." Medosades, with great submission, answered, "Seuthes and I have this to say: we desire that those who are become our friends may suffer no ill treatment from you; for whatever injury you do to them you will now do to us, since they are our subjects." The Lacedæmonians replied, "We are ready to depart as soon as those who have forced them to submit to you have received their pay; otherwise, we are come to assist them, and take revenge of those men who in violation of their oaths have wronged them. If you are of that number, we shall begin by doing them justice against you."

Then Xenophon said, "Are you willing, O Medosades! to leave it to the people in whose country we are (since you say they are your friends), to determine whether you or we shall leave it?" This he refused, but desired by all means the two Lacedæmonians would go to Seuthes about the pay, and said it was his opinion Seuthes would hearken to

them ; but if they did not approve of that, he desired they would send Xenophon with him, assuring them of his assistance in obtaining it. In the mean time he begged they would not burn the villages. On this they sent Xenophon with such persons as were thought most proper to attend him. When he came to Seuthes, he said, " I am not come, O Seuthes ! to ask any thing of you, but to demonstrate to you as well as I am able, that you had no just cause to be displeased with me for demanding of you, on behalf of the soldiers, the pay which you cheerfully promised them ; since I was convinced that it was not less your interest to give it than theirs to receive it : for I know, in the first place, that next to the gods they have rendered you conspicuous, by making you king over a large extent of country and great numbers of people : so that your actions, whether commendable or infamous, cannot possibly be concealed from public notice. In this situation I look on it as a matter of great moment to you, not to have it thought that you send away your benefactors without rewarding their services ; and not less so, to have your praise celebrated by six thousand men. But, above all, that it concerns you in no degree to derogate from the credit of what you say ; for I observe the discourse of men without credit to be vain and ineffectual, and to pass unheeded ; while that of persons who are known to practise truth is not less effectual to obtain what they desire than the power of others : I know, also, that if they propose to reform any one, their threats are not less powerful to that end than the immediate punishment inflicted by others : and if such men promise any thing, they succeed no less by promising than others by actually giving. Recollect with yourself what you paid us before you received our assistance. I know you paid us nothing. But the confidence you created in us of your performance of what you promised induced such numbers of men to join their arms to yours, and



conquer a kingdom for you, not only worth fifty talents (the sum these men now look on to be due to them), but many times that sum. In the first place, therefore, for this sum you sell your credit, to which you owe your kingdom. After that, call to mind of what consequence you thought it to you to obtain what you now have conquered and possess. I know you wished to obtain it rather than to gain many times that sum. Now I look on it to be a greater injury, as well as disgrace, to lose the possession of this conquest, than never to have gained it; as it is more grievous to a rich man to become poor than never to have been rich, and more afflicting to a king to become a private man than never to have been a king. You are sensible that these people, who are now become your subjects, were not prevailed on to submit to you by their affection for you, but by necessity; and that they would endeavour to recover their liberty, if they were not restrained by fear. Whether, therefore, do you think they will be more afraid and more devoted to your interest, if they see not only these soldiers disposed to stay, if you desire it, and presently to return, if necessary, but others, from the advantageous character these give of you, ready to come to your assistance in any thing you require of them; or if they are possessed with an opinion, that hereafter none will ever engage in your service from a distrust created by your present behaviour, and that these have a greater affection for them than for you? Besides, these people did not submit to you because they were inferior to us in numbers, but because they wanted leaders. This danger, therefore, you are also exposed to: they may choose for their leaders some of our men, who think themselves wronged by you, or those who have still more power, the Lacedæmonians: especially, on one hand, the soldiers show greater alacrity to engage in their service, on condition that they force you to give them their pay; and on the other, the

Lacedæmonians, from the want they have of the army, consent to the condition. It is also no secret that the Thracians, who are now become your subjects, had rather march against you than with you: for if you conquer, they are slaves; and if you are conquered, free. But if you think it incumbent on you to have any regard to the country, now it is your own, whether do you think it will receive less damage if these soldiers, having received what they insist on, leave it in peace, or if they stay in it as in an enemy's country; while you endeavour to raise more numerous forces, which must also be supplied with provisions, and with these make head against them? And whether do you think the expense will be greater, if the money due to these is paid, or if this is still suffered to remain due, and it becomes necessary for you to take other forces into your pay powerful enough to subdue the former? But Heraclides, I find by what he declared to me, thinks this sum very considerable. It is certainly much less considerable to you now both to raise and pay, than the tenth part of it was before we came to you: for the quantity of money is **not** the measure of the greatness or smallness of the sum, but the ability of the person who is either to pay or to receive it; and your annual income now exceeds the whole of what before you were worth. In what I have said, O Seuthes! I have had all the consideration for you that is due to a friend, to the end that both you may appear worthy of the favours the gods have bestowed on you, and I not lose my credit with the army. For be assured, that if I desired to punish an enemy, it is not in my power to effect it with this army, or to assist you, if I were again inclined to attempt it; such is their disposition with regard to me. And now I call both on you and the gods, who know the truth of what I say, to witness, that I never had any thing from you in return for the services you have received from the army, or ever demanded of you, for my own use,

any thing that was due to them, or claimed what you promised me. I also swear, that though you had been willing to perform your promise to me, yet I would not have accepted any thing unless the soldiers at the same time had received what was due to them : for it would have been a shame for me to succeed in my own pretensions, and to suffer theirs to remain without effect ; particularly since they had done me the honour to choose me for one of their generals. Heraclides, I know, looks on all things as trifles, when compared to possession of riches, by what means soever acquired : but I, O Seuthes ! am of opinion, that no possession does more become and adorn a man, particularly a prince, than that of virtue, justice, and generosity ; for whoever enjoys these is not only rich in the numerous friends he has, but in those who desire to become so ; if he is in prosperity, he has many ready to rejoice with him ; and if in adversity, to relieve him. But if neither my actions nor my words are able to convince you that I am your sincere friend, consider what the soldiers said ; for you were present and heard the speeches of those who were desirous to asperse me. They accused me to the Lacedæmonians, that I was more devoted to your interest than to that of the latter ; and at the same time objected to me, that I studied your advantage more than theirs : they also said that I had received presents from you. Now do you think they accused me of receiving these presents because they discovered in me any indisposition to your service, or because they observed in me the greatest zeal to promote it ? I am indeed of opinion, that all men ought to show an affection to those from whom they have received presents. Before I did you any service you gave me a favourable reception by your looks, your words, and your hospitality, and never could satisfy yourself with making promises. Now that you have accomplished what you desired, and are become as considerable as I could make you,

finding me thus fallen into disgrace with the soldiers, you dare neglect me. But I am confident time will inform you that you ought to pay them what you promised, and also that you yourself will not suffer those who have been your benefactors to load you with reproaches. I have therefore only this favour to ask of you, that when you pay it, you will study to leave me in the same credit with the army in which you found me."

When Seuthes heard this, he cursed the man who had been the cause of their not having been paid long since; every one concluding he meant Heracides. "For my part," said he, "I never designed to deprive them of it, and will pay them what is due." Then Xenophon said again, "Since you are resolved to pay the money, I desire it may pass through my hands, and that you will not suffer me to be in a different situation with the army now from what I was in when we came to you." Seuthes answered, "You shall not suffer in the opinion of the soldiers by my means; and if you will stay with only one thousand heavy-armed men, I will give you not only the places of strength, but every thing else I promised." The other made answer, "That is not possible, so dismiss us." "I know," replied Seuthes, "you will find it safer for you to stay with me, than to depart." Xenophon answered, "I commend your care of me: however, I cannot possibly stay; but wheresoever I am in credit be assured that you shall also find your advantage in it." On this Seuthes said, "I have very little money; no more than one talent, which I give you; but I have six hundred oxen, four thousand sheep, and one hundred and twenty slaves; take these with you, together with the hostages of those who wronged you." Xenophon replied, smiling, "But if these are not sufficient to raise the money that is due, whose talent shall I say I have? Is it not more advisable for me, since my return is attended with danger, to take care I am not stoned? You heard

their threats." The remainder of the day they staid there.

The next he delivered to them what he had promised; and sent persons with them to drive the cattle. In the mean time, the soldiers said that Xenophon was gone to Seuthes with a design to live with him, and to receive what the other had promised him: but when they saw him returned they were rejoiced, and ran to him. As soon as Xenophon saw Charminus and Polynicus, he said, "The army is obliged to you for these things. I deliver them to you; do you sell them, and distribute the money among the soldiers." They, having received the things, and appointed persons to dispose of them, sold them accordingly, and incurred great censure. Xenophon had no share in the management, but openly prepared to return home; for he was not yet banished from Athens. But his friends in the army came to him, and begged he would not leave them until he had led away the army and delivered it up to Thimbron.

VIII. After this they crossed the sea to Lampsacus, where Euclides the Phliasian priest, the son of Cleagoras, who painted the dreams in the Lyceum, met Xenophon, and after congratulating him on his safe return, asked him how much gold he had. The other swore to him that he had not money enough to carry him home, unless he sold his horse and his equipage. However, Euclides gave no credit to him; but after the inhabitants of Lampsacus had sent him presents in token of their hospitality, and Xenophon was offering sacrifice to Apollo in his presence, Euclides, on viewing the entrails of the victims, said he was now convinced he had no money: "But," added he "I find if there should ever be a prospect of any, that there will be some obstacle; and if no other, that you will be an obstacle to yourself." Xenophon owned this; on which Euclides said, "The Meilichian Jupiter is an obstacle to you;" and asked him whether

he had at any time offered sacrifice in the same manner, "as I," said he, "used to sacrifice for you at Athens, and offer a holocaust." Xenophon answered, that since he had been from home he had not sacrificed to that god; the other advised him to offer sacrifice to that divinity, assuring him that it would be for his advantage. The next day Xenophon going to Ophrynion offered sacrifice, and burned hogs whole according to the custom of his country; and the entrails were favourable. The same day Biton and Euclides arrived with money for the army. These contracted an intercourse of hospitality with Xenophon, and hearing he had sold his horse at Lampsacus for fifty daricks, and suspecting he had sold him through want, because they were informed he was fond of him, they redeemed the horse and restored him to Xenophon, refusing to accept the price they had paid for him.

From thence they marched through Troas, and passing over Mount Ida, came first to Antandrus: then continued their march along the coast of the Lydian sea to the plain of Thebes; from thence through Atramyttium and Certonicum, by Aterne, to the plain of Caïcus; and reached Pergamus, a city of Mysia. Here Xenophon was entertained by Hellas, the wife of Gongylus the Eretrian, and the mother of Gorgion and Gongylus. She informed him that Asidates, a Persian, lay encamped in the plain, adding, that with three hundred men he might surprise him in the night, and take him with his wife and children, and all his riches, which were very considerable. At the same time she sent a person who was her cousin-german, together with Daphnagoras, for whom she had a particular esteem, to assist them in the enterprise. Xenophon, therefore, while these were with him, offered sacrifice; and Agasias, the Elean priest, being present, said the victims were very favourable, and that the Persian might be taken prisoner. Accordingly, after supper he set out, tak-

with him those captains who were most his friends and had ever been faithful to him, that he might procure them some advantage. Others, to the number of six hundred, accompanied him whether he would or no; but the captains rode on before them, lest they should be obliged to give them a share of the booty, which they looked on as their own.

They arrived about midnight, when they suffered the slaves that lay round the castle, together with a considerable quantity of effects, to escape, in order that they might take Asidates himself with his riches; but not being able to take the place by assault (for it was both high and large, well fortified with battlements, and defended by a good number of brave men), they endeavoured to make a breach in the wall, which was eight bricks thick. However, by break of day the breach was made; which was no sooner effected than one of those who were within ran the foremost man through the thigh with a large spit. After that they sent such a shower of arrows that it was no longer safe to approach the wall. In the mean time their cries, and the signals they made by lighting fires, drew Itabelius with his forces to their assistance. There came also from Comania the garrison, consisting of heavy-armed men, together with some Hyrcanian horse who were in the king's pay, being about eighty in number, and eight hundred targeteers; besides others from Parthenium, Apollonia, and the neighbouring places, and also horse.

It was now time for the Greeks to consider how to make their retreat. To effect this they took all the oxen and sheep that were there, and then forming themselves into a hollow square, and placing them with the slaves in the middle, they marched away. They were now no longer solicitous for their booty, but only lest, by leaving it behind, their retreat might seem a flight, which would have increased both the confidence of the enemy and the dejection of their own men. Whereas, while they made their retreat

in this disposition, they seemed resolved to defend their booty. In the mean time Gongylus, seeing the number of the Greeks was small and that of the enemy who hung on their rear very considerable, came out himself, against his mother's will, at the head of his own forces, being desirous to have a share in the action. Procles also, who was descended from Damaratus, came to their assistance from Elisarne and Teuthrania. Now as Xenophon's men suffered very much from the enemy's arrows and slings, while they marched in a ring, in order to cover themselves from the arrows with their shields, it was with great difficulty they passed the river Caicus, near half their number being wounded: Here Agasias of Stymphalus, one of the captains, was wounded, having the whole time fought with great bravery. At last they arrived safe, with about two hundred slaves and cattle enough for sacrifice.

The next day Xenophon offered sacrifice, and in the night led out the whole army with a design to march as far as possible into Lydia, to the intent that the Persian, seeing him no longer in his neighbourhood, might be free from fear and unguarded. But Asidates hearing that Xenophon had again offered sacrifice concerning a second expedition against him, and that he would return with the whole army, quitted the castle, and encamped in some villages reaching to the walls of Parthenium. Here Xenophon's men met with him, and took him with his wife and children, his horses, and all his riches; and this was the success promised in the former sacrifice. After that they returned to Pergamus. Here Xenophon had no reason to complain of Jupiter Meilichius; for the Lacedæmonians, the captains, the rest of the generals, and the soldiers, all conspired to select for him not only horses, but yokes of oxen and other things: so that he had it now in his power even to oblige a friend.

After this Thimbron arrived, and taking the com-



mand of the army, joined it to the rest of the Greek forces, and made war on Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

The following persons were the king's governors of the countries through which we marched:—of Lydia, Artimas; of Phrygia, Artacamas; of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, Mithridates; of Cilicia, Syennesis; of Phœnicia and Arabia, Dernis; of Syria and Assyria, Belesis; of Babylon, Roparas; of Media, Arbacas; of the Phasians and Hesperitans, Teribazus; (the Carduchians, the Chalybians, the Chaldæans, the Macronians, the Colchians, the Mosynœcians, the Coetans, and Tibarenians being free nations;) of Paphlagonia, Corylas; of the Bithynians, Pharnabazus; and of the European Thracians, Seuthes.

The whole of the way, both of the expedition and retreat, consisted of two hundred and fifteen days' march, of eleven hundred fifty-five parasangs, and of thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty stadia; and the time employed in both, of a year and three months.

END OF VOL. I.







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